UN CHRONICLE

March 1994, Volume XXXI, Number 1

International Year of the Family

General Assembly Round-up

OUR COVER

The smallest democracy . . .

From the close-knit clans of African tribes, to single-parent families in urban America, to multi-generational extended families throughout Europe and the "third world", families everywhere reflect the diversity and universality of human society itself.

In 1994, through the International Year of the Family, the UN and the international community are celebrating the family "in all its many cultural and social forms", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has stated. The Year will also endeavour to give greater recognition to the role that the family plays in the evolution of contemporary society, to honour its functions, to enhance its role, to strive for its well-being.

Indeed, the family has been described as "the smallest democracy at the heart of society". The image of this basic social unit—as our colourful cover photograph of a typical family in Mexico City suggests—may remind us that we are all members of the great human family. In the Secretary-General's view, it enables us "to confront the difficulties of the moment, to transcend the apparent divisions, and to overcome antagonisms, because it is guided by a force that conquers all—the force of love".

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The 38th Floor

Three challenges: Peace, development, democracy

Following are excerpts from statements by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali made between 1 October and 31 December 1993.

The need for resources . . .

Three challenges are before us: peace, development and democracy. Without peace, there can be no development and there can be no democracy. Without development, the basis for democracy will be lacking and societies will tend to fall into conflict. And without democracy, no sustainable development can occur. Without sustainable development, peace cannot long be maintained . . .

It is our privilege, and our responsibility, to leave our children a better world than the one we inherited. We do not refuse the task. But we should be given the means to carry it out. So, first, we need resources. Without resources, the United Nations will be powerless to carry out its tasks.

To the Foreign Correspondents Club, Tokyo, 20 December

Mr. Boutros-Ghali waving to well-wishers at the conclusion of his trip to Kenya on 23 October.

On attacking hunger . . .

The world now produces enough food to feed its population. The problem is not simply technical. It is a political and social problem. It is a problem of access to food supplies, of distribution and of entitlement. Above all, it is a problem of political will . . .

Hunger is a global issue. Its existence violates that most basic of human rights—the right to survival. And it is our responsibility as an international community to guarantee that right. The United Nations is central to this task because the solutions must be comprehensive. Food security requires an across-the-board effort. Its political, social, economic and technological factors all must be involved and integrated. Above all, food security must be guided by a political consensus on the need for action, as well as its nature and scope . . .

To attack endemic hunger, we must address underlying causes. The real answer to hunger lies in measures to eradicate poverty . . .

Today, some 800 million people suffer from insufficient or poor nutrition. We have the experience and the resources to feed them all. We do not always have the political will to do so. I am most encouraged that the political will is emerging. I have just received a letter from President Carlos Menem of Argentina. He suggests the setting-up of an international volunteer corps for the fight against hunger. This is certainly an initiative which merits serious consideration.

To the World Bank Conference on "Overcoming Global Hunger", Washington, D.C., 30 November

Multilateralism, an indispensable asset . . .

A new, integrated view of the United Nations is in the making. It involves global human security in all its aspects.

Thus, the United Nations has been asked to do more than at any time in history. Having heaped immense new responsibilities on the Organization, the world is now asking: is the United Nations up to the job? The pendulum has swung from one extreme to the other. From utopian expectation to excessive disillusion.

Let us not deceive ourselves. We are the United Nations. The words which open the Charter are: "We the Peoples".

Your Government, and other Governments of those peoples, drafted the Charter and agreed to create the United Nations. The decisions, the actions and the resources—all come from you the Member States . . .

There is no doubt that the leading nations of the world have the power, the resources, and the creativity needed to shape a new international system. Capability is not in question. What is in question is perseverance, commitment and will.

The challenge today is two-fold: to make the most of what history has provided, and to adapt it to the needs of our time . . .

It is the Governments which alone can make the United Nations work. If the moment is not seized, then history will be unforgiving . . .

To some people at present, multilateralism has become a dirty word. I submit that multilateralism is an indispensable asset. It is not the enemy of sovereignty, but its most intelligent expression. Legitimacy, democracy, and collective security all can be found within the proper definition of multilateralism.

On the occasion of the UNA-USA Global Leadership Award ceremony Washington, D.C., 29 October

An age of warfare . . .

It has often been pointed out that we live in an age of warfare. There have been more wars in this century than in the 18th and 19th centuries combined.

In the 40 years before the Second World War, 88 wars were recorded. Since the end of that world conflict, 127 wars have taken place. Most of the 127 have involved ethnic conflict. Most led to some form of cold war intervention.

Why have there been so many of these conflicts?

It is because, fundamentally, the international State system has not performed in a satisfactory way on three key issues: equity, legitimacy and identity.

The gap between the rich and poor parts of the world has not been effectively closed. As a result, populations migrate to escape poverty and oppression. When strange groups suddenly confront each other there is little time to build trust. The tensions created often lead to violence.

When a State fails to satisfy an ethnic group's need for political legitimacy, and respect for its human rights, violence often is regarded as the only way out . . .

The events of recent months impress upon us the need for a new realism. The range of problems is as wide as the globe itself. This means that there will be failures, as well as successes.

We must not be deterrred by failure. But neither should we accept it as permanent. Most important for the future, we must understand what we are. We must understand the values, the ideals and the institutions which have been passed down to us in trust.

To the National Defense University Washington, D.C., 8 November

Moral responsibility must be global . . .

I am not here to say that every troubled nation deserves international attention. The United Nations must use its influence and resources with great caution and care. But when Governments face the most dire circumstances of disaster, as in Cambodia, or when all semblance of a State simply vanishes, as in Somalia, then the international society of States and its United Nations instrument must be concerned to act.

We must not delude ourselves. Inaction will mean the spread of anarchy. But action will be long and difficult. It will cost money, but vastly less money than the alternative. It will take time, but the world at present still has time to act. It will take political commitment by the protagonists to a conflict, but such commitment usually responds to the depth of international resolve. And it will take international solidarity. That is what I call for tonight . . .

If the Member States of the United Nations can understand that moral responsibility in our time must be global; if they can intellectually accept that the best course lies between inaction and total intervention; and if they have the vision to regard multilateralism as sovereignty's most intelligent expression; then the future can be shaped to the betterment of all.

At the United States Military Academy West Point, 18 November

Poverty, an 'unacceptable scourge' . . .

More than ever before, it is a compelling task for all of us to put an end to the extreme poverty affecting hundreds of millions of women, men and children throughout the world. And all of us, at our various levels, must be involved in this work, which is a challenge to the whole international community. Extreme poverty is a universal tragedy. Far from being limited to a few regions of the globe, it endangers human life both in the poorest societies and in the richest ones. And the period of upheaval and crisis which we are experiencing may make their plight even worse.

On the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty, New York, 18 October

Beginning a new chapter . . .

On this United Nations Day 1993, it is clear that the world Organization has begun a new chapter.

In sharp contrast to past decades, the vast potential of the United Nations has been recognized.

For international peace and security; for humanitarian assistance; for development in all aspects; for the protection of the planet; for the promotion of democracy and human rights, the United Nations is indispensable.

On the occasion of United Nations Day New York, 22 October

General Assembly seeks new identity at a time of transition

When the 48th General Assembly suspended its work on 23 December, its President, Samuel R. Insanally of Guyana, made traditional closing remarks seated behind the stately green marble dais bearing the UN's wreath-encircled symbol. "The collective voice of the Assembly", he told delegates, "is also, especially when raised in unison, a powerful factor for change in international affairs". Notwithstanding the "setbacks faced in the search for peace and development, multilateralism is an ideal worthy of pursuit", he declared.

In that pursuit, delegates, over the course of the 13-week session, adopted 265 resolutions and 106 decisions on a wide spectrum of topics, ranging from regional conflicts to disarmament, development, human rights and other social concerns, to decolonization and legal matters.

Convened on 21 September, at a time of shifting international tensions and political transitions, the Assembly had worked, in a way "remarkable not only for the reaffirmation of faith in our Organization, but also for the many imaginative proposals aimed at its improvement", Mr. Insanally said.

"We are going through a period in which we are trying to find a new identity", he told a press conference after his speech. Until that time, the world body should devise short-term strategies to "allow us to ride this wave of uncertainty, rather than to be constantly responding in an ad hoc fashion".

"A collective voice in unison

A powerful factor for change"

Among the highlights of the Assembly's work were the lifting of the 31-year-old economic sanctions against South Africa; creation of a new post of UN High Commissioner for Human Rights; launching of the International Year of the Family (1994); and declarations of the International Year of Sport and the Olympic Ideal (1994), the International Year of Tolerance (1995), and the International Year for the Eradication of Poverty (1996).

Plans for the fiftieth anniversary of the UN, to be observed in 1995, went ahead with the appointment of a Special Adviser at the Under-Secretary-General level to initiate and coordinate anniversary activities, under the

official theme: "We the Peoples of the United Nations . . . United for a Better World".

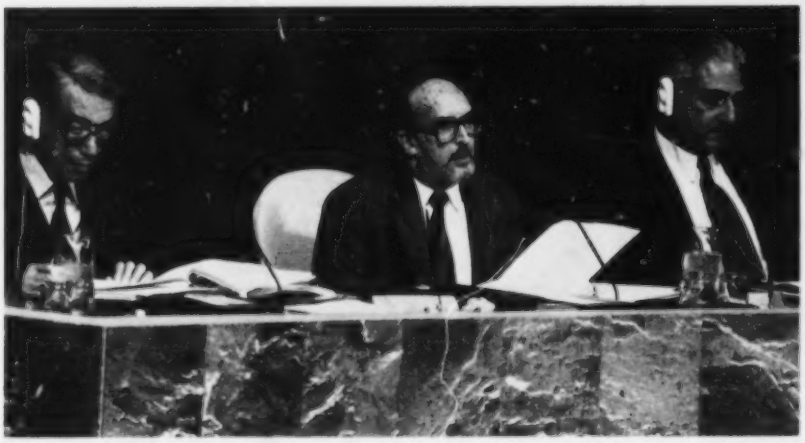
Continuing reform

Amidst continuing demands for reform, the Assembly asked a new open-ended working group to deal with the question of equitable representation in the Security Council, and established a 25-member body to consider a mechanism to deal with UN fraud.

A special UN Panel on Opportunity and Participation, composed of "distinguished, expert and experienced persons, broadly representative of the international community", was to be formed to conduct a comprehensive study for the economic and social advancement of all peoples, with particular reference to developing countries' economies.

In mid-October, President Insanally reflected the views of many delegates when he supported "a balance between an agenda for peace and an agenda for development". The Assembly responded by calling for open-ended, broad-based consultations on the proposed "Agenda for Development", which it hoped would be ready in 1994, to complement the historic 1992 "An Agenda for Peace".

Widespread support was given to the burgeoning roster of UN peacekeeping operations, with a call for a careful analysis of their mandates and objectives. Acknowledging the challenge of forging cohesive missions from diverse contingents, effective training was urged. A new UN legal instrument to protect UN personnel from attacks was to be elaborated. Improved UN coordination of emergency humanitarian relief was asked, as was a new UN emergency information system.



President Insanally *(centre)* delivers his end-of-Assembly statement on 23 December.

'Seemingly intractable situations'

In reviewing the 48th Assembly's action, President Insanally on 23 December called for creation of "circumstances which can lead to the settlement of many long-standing and seemingly intractable situations".

The Assembly adopted texts on many ongoing regional conflicts throughout the world, from the Yugoslav crisis, to those in the former Soviet Union, to new outbreaks in Africa. It focused on breaking stalemates in Haiti and Angola, Cyprus, the Korean peninsula and Western Sahara. It hailed recent successes in the Middle East and Cambodia.

Concerned over the estimated 85 million land mines peppering the landscapes of countries devastated by past or present wars, the Assembly dealt with the problem for the first time, welcoming UN coordination of demining efforts worldwide and calling for a moratorium on the export of anti-personnel land mines.

The world body's very first action *(resolution 48/1)*—the lifting of sanctions against South Africa—was the result of progress towards the establishment in that long-troubled country of a democratic, non-racial Government, including the repeal of the much-hated apartheid laws. An end to violence there was called for. The mandate of a UN group monitoring oil sanctions was terminated.

The Assembly heralded the historic Israeli-Palestine accord—signed on 13 September in Washington, D.C., United States—which, it stated, had emanated from "a long, arduous and concerted struggle" by the UN.

It called for a "region of peace" in Central America, looking forward to democratic elections in several countries there.

But peace remained elusive in other regions—from Burundi to the Balkans. The Assembly condemned the *coup d'etat* in Burundi in which its President was slain, just 17 days after addressing the General Assembly. And human rights violations—including rape and "ethnic cleansing"—in Bosnia and Herzegovina were condemned, while a call was made for the Security Council to consider exempting that State from an ongoing arms embargo against the former Yugoslavia.

UN Photo

Voices in unison: A children's chorus from New York performing in the Assembly Hall at the launching of the International Year of the Family on 7 December.

Decades, Years, Days

A Third Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (1993-2003) was proclaimed and a programme of action adopted. The Assembly also approved an International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, to commence on 10 December 1994. A proposal for a UN decade for human rights education was discussed.

The International Year of the Family, to be observed worldwide in 1994, was launched at a special ceremony in December. The Assembly also declared that the International Year of Sport and the Olympic Ideal should be observed in 1994 and the UN Year for Tolerance in 1995. Preparations for other International Years, among them the newly-named Year of the Elderly in 1999, were monitored and approved.

The Assembly asked that 3 December be observed as the International Day of Disabled Persons and 3 May as World Press Freedom Day.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of the Four Nations on General Security, signed in Moscow in 1943, was observed, as was the 45th anniversary of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10 December—Human Rights Day.

A number of important global conferences received Assembly attention, including those on small island developing States (April 1994, Barbados), population and development (September 1994, Cairo), the advancement of women (1995, Beijing), and social development (1995, Copenhagen).

The Assembly decided to convene in May 1994 in Yokohama, Japan, a World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction, to review accomplishments of the ongoing International Decade on that subject and to formulate a programme of action for the future.

In preparation for Habitat II—the UN world conference on human settlements—to be held in 1996 in Istanbul, Governments were urged to work on their national shelter strategies, in line with the 1988 Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000.

Committee overview

The Assembly's six main Committees had worked assiduously, achieving consensus on many issues, some very delicate, President Insanally said.

The First Committee (Disarmament and International Security) had helped bring the world closer to a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty, he declared, by endorsing a decision of the 1993 Conference on Disarmament to proceed with negotiations on a "universal and internationally and effectively verifiable" instrument.

A step towards complete elimination of nuclear weapons was taken, with the Assembly's forwarding to the Conference on Disarmament a six-article draft convention on non-use of nuclear weapons. States were asked to prevent dumping of nuclear wastes and help eradicate illicit arms transfers.

On advice from its Second Committee (Economic and Financial), the Assembly called for a high-level mid-term review in 1995 of the situation of least developed countries, based on an action programme adopted in Paris in 1990. It also stressed the importance of establishing a diversification fund for African commodities. The problems of environment and debt were addressed. Economic assistance to a large number of war-torn and disaster-prone States was approved.

Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) efforts resulted in adoption of a six-article Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. A large number of its recommendations dealt with human rights, including the creation of a new High Commissioner post. Measures to continue to help the world's most vulnerable populations—including children, youth, the elderly, the disabled, women and other often highly-disadvantaged groups—were promoted. The plight of street children and younger victims of war was given special attention.

Considering the massive increase in the number of refugees around the world, the Assembly asked for feedback on a proposal to convene a UN conference to review comprehensively the problem of refugees, returnees, displaced persons and migrants. Important meetings on crime prevention in 1994 and 1995 were noted.

The newly-merged Fourth Committee (Special Political and Decolonization) became the focal point for the UN's ever-widening work in the area of peace-keeping. A wind-down in the Organization's work on decolonization was apparent, with only a handful of Non-Self-Governing Territories still under UN scrutiny. Nevertheless, the Assembly asked for continued monitoring during the current International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, which began in 1990.

A large part of the work of the Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary) had to do with formulating the $2.6-billion UN budget for the 1994-1995 biennium.

In addition to calling for a new global instrument to protect UN personnel from attacks, the Sixth Committee (Legal) also continued work on measures to eliminate terrorism and a convention on jurisdictional immunities of States and their property. In the context of the UN Decade of International Law, the Assembly decided to convene a UN congress on public international law in 1995. ■

ASSEMBLY ALMANAC

"Olympic Truce" urged, Year of Sport declared

In recognition of the 100th anniversary of the International Olympic Committee, the General Assembly proclaimed 1994 the International Year of Sport and the Olympic Ideal. The Assembly also urged *(48/11)* all Member States to "observe the Olympic Truce from the seventh day before the opening and the seventh day following the closing of each of the Olympic Games". Based on an ancient Greek tradition dating back to the ninth century B.C., the "Olympic Truce" allows athletes, their relatives and others attending Olympic games to enjoy safe travel. The Truce was launched at the International Olympic Committee headquarters in Lausanne, Switzerland on 24 January.

Mayotte sovereignty discussed

The General Assembly on 13 December, in resolution 48/56, reaffirmed the sovereignty of the Comoros over the island of Mayotte. By a vote of 91 to 2 (France, Monaco), with 36 abstentions, France was urged to accelerate negotiations with the Comoros to ensure the effective and prompt return of Mayotte to that country. In debate, France said it regretted that the question of Mayotte should again be considered by the Assembly. The people of Mayotte, it said, had clearly expressed their desire to remain a part of the French Republic.

United States embargo against Cuba considered

The 30-year-old United States embargo against Cuba was considered by the General Assembly on 3 November. By adopting resolution 48/16 by a vote of 88 to 4 (Albania, Israel, Paraguay, United States), the Assembly urged States to repeal or invalidate such measures "whose extraterritorial effects affected the sovereignty of other States".

Council, Court elections

The General Assembly elected five Member States as non-permanent members of the Security Council for two-year terms beginning 1 January 1994: Argentina, the Czech Republic, Oman, Rwanda and Nigeria to replace Cape Verde, Hungary, Japan, Morocco and Venezuela. Other non-permanent members are Brazil, Djibouti, New Zealand, Pakistan and Spain. The permanent members of the Council are China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States.

In balloting held concurrently with the Security Council, the Assembly elected five judges to the 15-member International Court of Justice for nine-year terms beginning 6 February 1994. Géza Herczegh of Hungary and Shigeru Oda of Japan were re-elected. Elected to first terms were: Carl-August Fleischhauer of Germany, Jiuyong Shi of China, and Abdul G. Koroma of Sierra Leone.

Restructuring continues

The General Assembly on 20 December adopted resolution 48/162 on the economic and social restructuring of the UN. It set forth a wide-ranging series of recommendations, which included: addressing the division of labour between the Assembly and the Economic and Social Council; the methodology of the work of the Second Committee (Economic and Financial); and strengthening the coordination of UN humanitarian and disaster-relief assistance.

Sea Law Convention should be ratified

The General Assembly on 9 December called on all States to consider ratifying or acceding to the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea at the earliest possible date. The Assembly, in resolution 48/28, urged that the Convention's provisions be observed in enacting national legislation. The vote was 144 to 1 (Turkey), with 11 abstentions.

UN Photo 184783/R. Da Silva

American entertainer Liza Minnelli performing at UN Headquarters in New York on World AIDS Day, 1 December.

Other news in brief . . .

- The Framework Convention on the Conservation of Biological Diversity entered into force on 29 December, 18 months after it was opened for signature at the 1991 "Earth Summit" in Brazil. By 21 December, 50 States had ratified the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, also launched at the Earth Summit. It will enter into force in March 1994.
- Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 16 December welcomed the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The negotiations, which began in September 1986, dealt primarily with trade in goods and services.
- Greek singing star Nana Mouskouri was appointed Special Representative for the Performing Arts on 25 October by the UN Children's Fund.
- Jacques Diouf of Senegal became head of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations on 4 January, succeeding long-time Director-General Edouard Saouma of Lebanon.

The Nations Speak

Addressing the global agenda

For the rest of this century and beyond . . .

The three-week general debate, which traditionally keynotes the opening of the General Assembly session, in 1993 was called "remarkable . . . for its vision and sense of purpose in addressing the global agenda for the rest of this century and beyond". So said 48th General Assembly President Samuel R. Insanally of Guyana in a statement on 13 October at the conclusion of the annual exercise, which took place between 27 September and 13 October and in which a record number of 175 speakers participated.

Among them were 28 Heads of State, 2 Crown Princes, 13 Prime Ministers, 107 Foreign Ministers, 15 Deputy Prime Ministers, 2 other Ministers and 8 Chairmen of delegations.

The "collective review of the international political, economic and social situation" made by representatives of nations around the globe had provided "thoughtful insights", President Insanally said.

It had been "truly encouraging to perceive, notwithstanding the grave uncertainties now prevailing in international relations", that there existed a widespread optimism about the UN's capacity to satisfy its membership's expectations and needs.

There seemed to be a renewed commitment by all States to UN Charter principles and purposes and a ready acknowledgement of the concept of interdependence. "We must seek to infuse this unity of spirit into our deliberations as we come to address the many issues on our agenda", he told delegates.

The end of the cold war had "revealed and released ethnic and nationalist tensions which had been repressed, and brought back behaviour which we thought had receded far into history", Mr. Insanally went on.

There was now stronger support than ever for UN preventive diplomacy, for peacemaking and peace-keeping, "reflecting the bold plans" set out by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his "An Agenda for Peace" in June 1992.

The Assembly President was especially pleased to see a ready disposition to complement the "Agenda for Peace" with a new "Agenda for Development", in order to address urgent economic and social problems confronting the majority of peoples on earth.

Statements by national representatives, he said, had invariably stressed the need for maximum international economic cooperation to improve the global economy and more particularly the disadvantaged situation of the developing countries.

Many positive ideas—encompassing the issues of debt, development assistance, trade and preservation of the environment—had emerged from that comprehensive analysis.

Equally noteworthy had been the eagerness with which delegations seemed prepared to advance the Assembly's work to reform and restructure the UN in order to make it more adaptable to the times. "There is a distinct perception in the House that many if not all of the organs, as presently conceived and constituted, are ill-suited to prevailing circumstances and to the satisfaction of our many needs", he stated.

Considerable focus had been placed on the Security Council which, in the eyes of many, required enlargement and more transparent operations. Great interest was also expressed in strengthening economic and social bodies and revitalizing the Assembly's role under the Charter.

AFRICA

Continuing conflicts and the progressively deteriorating economic situation in Africa were among the main concerns of African speakers. Delegates called for expanding the Security Council and giving a permanent seat on that body to Africa.

Speakers lamented the failure to bring an end to the conflict in Angola—perceived by many as the most difficult in the region—and voiced concern over situations in Mozambique, Somalia, Burundi, South Africa and Western Sahara, among others. Some positive developments were also noted, especially the peace accords signed for Liberia and Rwanda. Calls were made for lifting sanctions against Libya.

It was widely noted that during the 1980s, Africa's share of the world

The Nations Speak

UN Photo 184146/J. Isaac

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From Africa to the Americas, 175 speakers joined in the 1993 general debate, held between 27 September and 13 October. *Above*, Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro, President of Cape Verde, seated in the ceremonial Head of State chair in the General Assembly Hall prior to delivering his address on 4 October. *Top right*, United States President William J. Clinton concludes his speech on 27 September. *Bottom right*, world leaders relaxed together at a luncheon hosted by the Secretary-General in their honour on 5 October.

gross national product had plummeted, as had its shares of foreign private investment inflows and world trade. Africa's burgeoning external debt stood close to $300 billion. Although more than 30 African countries had committed themselves to structural adjustment programmes, it was stressed that the international community had not fully met its commitments under the New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s.

ASIA, PACIFIC

Most speakers from Asia praised the Israeli-Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) agreement as an important step towards peace in the Middle East. Also acclaimed was the return of peace and normality to Cambodia in the wake of UN-sponsored elections there. One delegate noted that for the first time in recent memory, South-East Asia was free of major armed conflict.

However, the unstable situation in the former Soviet Union gave reason for worry, as did the absence of a solution to the Cyprus problem. Some called for the end of sanctions against Iraq, while others said the Iraqi regime unfairly blamed the international community.

Asian delegates also wanted Security Council reform and action to close the yawning gap between developed and developing countries. A constructive North-South dialogue had to be based on genuine interdependence, mutuality of interests and benefits, and shared responsibility. Also of concern were the problems of small island developing States and the environment.

LATIN AMERICA, CARIBBEAN

With democracy and peace taking hold through most of the region, the nations of Latin America and the Caribbean said that they must focus even greater attention on development issues. For development to take root, however, these countries must tackle a daunting array of economic problems, including trade barriers, high debt and insufficient international aid.

Delegates asked for greater market access for their products. Many voiced hope that the conclusion of the Uruguay Round on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade would bolster production. Greater regional integration was also seen as a way towards stronger economies. Speakers urged the UN to adopt the proposed "Agenda for Development".

There was support for further UN assistance in establishing democracy in Haiti and reconstructing its economy. The movement towards peace in El Salvador and elsewhere in Central America was commended.

EAST and WEST EUROPE, OTHER STATES

Concerns over new security problems, such as the "resurgence of ethnonationalism", were widely voiced by representatives of both Eastern and Western Europe and of other States. The violent Yugoslav conflict—the bloodiest in Europe since the Second World War—was a pertinent case in point, and most speakers sought to suggest ways and means of achieving peace in that region.

Much depended on humanity's capacity to think clearly about how to react to those new challenges and adjust its institutions—including the UN—accordingly. Although not always effective, UN peace-keeping held the promise of resolving many of the current conflicts, some delegates felt. UN peace-keeping operations should be flexible, with more training and concern for personnel safety.

Although the threat of war had diminished with the end of the cold war, disarmament still figured prominently on the international security agenda. A cause for particular concern were armaments of the "nuclear heirs to the Soviet Union"—Belarus, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation and Ukraine. ■

THE NATIONS SPEAK

ALGERIA

Foreign Minister Mohamed Salah Dembri said his country would continue to oppose "every outside attempt at destabilization", tolerating no interference in its internal affairs. In Western Sahara, Algeria worked steadily and resolutely for success in building a united Maghreb, urging the two parties to resolve outstanding questions without delay. Algeria hoped that outstanding humanitarian questions resulting from the Iraq/Kuwait situation would soon be resolved "so that the collective conscience of the Arab peoples may be able finally to heal itself of the scars of the Gulf War". Algeria expressed solidarity with the Bosnian people, particularly Muslims who had been victims of untold hardships. In spite of the Security Council's many resolutions, acquisition of territory by force, "ethnic cleansing" and trampling of international law still prevailed. Algeria appealed to the international community to help protect Bosnia and Herzegovina's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

ANGOLA

Foreign Minister Venacio de Moura said that thousands of people died each day in the Angolan war. "The international community seems insensitive to our tragedy. It is as if the Angolan people were paying the price for playing the democratic game." Angola questioned how the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), "a militarist organization incapable of conforming to democratic rules", still maintained offices in certain democratic countries where "ardent defenders of human rights" received its officials with great pomp. UNITA was "plotting a dangerous manoeuvre with the aim of shirking its obligation to fulfil the Bicesse Accords" and Security Council resolutions. The UN should compel UNITA to respect the results of the September 1992 elections. Nevertheless, while Angola favoured continued aid to developing nations, it rejected *états en échec*—failed States—doctrine which claimed that certain countries could not resolve their problems by themselves and needed new "tutors".

BENIN

Robert Dossou, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, blamed major civil wars in Africa for "untold suffering and destruction", hampering efforts for socio-economic development. Without peace and security, courageous economic and political reforms could not be successful. Even West Africa, once a peaceful land of asylum, was experiencing an unprecedented increase in emergency situations. In less than four years, the number of refugees in that region had soared from 20,000 to 1.2 million. Meanwhile, Africa had been virtually left out in the new economic order, which was dominated by trade between three groups—Western Europe, North America and the Pacific-Asia zone. The developed North seemed to have less and less need for African products, and Africa no longer could afford the North's goods and services. The international community's failure to deal with Africa's debt burden would lead to a slow-down of world trade, directly affecting Africa's already suffering economies.

BOTSWANA

Foreign Minister Gaositwe K.T. Chiepe decried trends in Africa: falling commodity prices, heavy debt burden, shrinking aid flow and, in some places, drought and famine. Civil strife also had a crippling effect on economic activity. The international community must establish a more open trading system, giving access to and adequate compensation for African commodities. Botswana hoped for a speedy conclusion of the Uruguay Round, to strengthen Africa's trading capacity and promote its commodities. "Although the cold war is no more and old ideological empires have been unravelled, the euphoria of triumphalism has been short-lived. There is turmoil almost everywhere as age-old nationalisms that have for so long been suppressed explode with a vengeance that knows no limit. True to character, the twentieth century will not, so it seems, fade away peacefully."

BURKINA FASO

Foreign Minister Thomas Sanon said that heavy debt, a fall in raw material prices and natural disasters had Africa "staggering from one calamity to the next". Also, structural adjustment programmes had been "squeezing even harder a continent that has been relegated to the sidelines". The New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s had yet to be implemented. By refusing to accept the election outcome in Angola, UNITA and its leader, Jonas Savimbi, had "torpedoed" the process sponsored by the UN and the international community. In Mozambique, the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO) should pursue the path of negotiations and move resolutely with the Government towards reconciliation and reconstruction. After an encouraging start, UN action in Somalia was running into obstacles adversely affecting the peace-keeping operation. Dialogue and negotiation with all parties were necessary.

BURUNDI

President Melchior Ndadaye said that Burundi was "bending every effort to achieve the gradual elimination of all the obstacles that have paralyzed or retarded the Burundi people's drive towards growth and overall development". The "triumph of democracy" in his country had resulted in the settlement of some

200,000 refugees. These "victims of tragedies of the past three decades" had chosen to return to their homeland, which welcomed them with open arms. Burundi supported action taken by the UN in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity to guarantee Rwanda a climate favouring genuine national reconciliation. The deployment of a neutral international force, as requested by the two parties, should be arranged as quickly as possible to consolidate peace in the subregion. Africa was going through a difficult economic period, and its economic recovery would be achieved when external debt was substantially cancelled and additional financial resources had been provided.

CAMEROON

Foreign Minister Ferdinand Léopold Oyono said that while measures were taken to settle certain regional conflicts, resources should be mobilized for reconstruction and humanitarian needs of African countries torn by armed conflicts. Such action would bolster the willingness of African Heads of State to assume greater responsibility in prevention, management and settlement of conflicts in their region. The adoption in Libreville in September 1993 of a non-aggression pact between 11 Member States of the Economic Community of Central African States was essential to reduce armed forces and military budgets in the subregion. It would be unrealistic to "circumscribe the exercise of democracy within national boundaries, when there are also flagrant injustices in international economic relations that constitute grave violations of human dignity". A victim of such injustices, Africa had the "characteristics of a continent adrift". Africa needed a consistent set of measures, such as a fund for financing African development, to stimulate recovery.

CAPE VERDE

President Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro said that African countries faced drought and desertification, social and economic strangulation exacerbated by armed conflicts, an economic system that responded more to other regions, and widespread poverty and poor living conditions. Cape Verde had witnessed with deep concern the development of ethnic rivalries and internal struggles for power in Africa. Africa's resources were "wasted on the fire of armed conflicts". Developed countries should increase support for African development efforts, especially at a time when Africa had embarked on fundamental economic reforms through diversification and structural adjustments. In Angola, there was no alternative to negotiations. In Somalia, immediate efforts must be made to create a climate of security, political harmony and administrative normalcy. In Mozambique, the General Peace Agreements should be respected. In Liberia, the Security Council's decision to deploy an observer mission to assist in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement was commendable.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Foreign Minister Jean-Marie Bassia appealed for real solidarity among Member States, which would compel industrialized countries to support development in other countries, particularly in Africa. The economic condition of African countries was deteriorating, but the international community had not removed any of the obstacles to development, such as declining commodity prices, heavy debt burden and protectionism. If those factors persisted, there was no doubt that African countries would have even greater difficulty overcoming their situation. The time had come to bring about genuine democratization in UN decision-making bodies, in particular the Security Council. "The great developments in science and technology have today reduced our world to a global village where each and every one of us must feel directly affected by all the problems that exist on the various levels of international life."

CHAD

Prime Minister Fidel Moungar said Chad was "passing from a long, dark night of instability, dictatorship, human rights violations and economic setbacks", but the heroic struggle of Chadians had led them onto the "path of democracy". Clear hope for peace in certain regions was emerging, yet war continued to cause unspeakable suffering elsewhere. Chad was concerned about the situations in Somalia and Angola, and it hoped that a firm UN position would help ensure respect for existing agreements. Chad urged the parties in Mozambique to achieve peace and welcomed the peace processes in Rwanda, Liberia and South Africa. Chad had appealed to the International Court of Justice to settle a border dispute with Libya. It hoped that the restructuring and revitalization of the UN economic and social structure would contribute to strengthening the Organization's capacity to act.

COMOROS

Mouslim Ben Moussa, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Islamic Affairs, said that Comoros wanted the highest priority to resolve the "regrettable dispute" with France over Mayotte. International economic relations, marked by a "bipolar attitude", were responsible for the growing gap between rich and poor countries. "We believe in the ideals of peace and security, but we are firmly convinced that they cannot be fully achieved if famine, malnutrition, disease and natural disasters continue to be the lot of the majority of the States which make up the international community." Despite unemployment, reduced productivity and the

need to support new States born of the fragmentation of the Eastern bloc, a new economic order was more likely today than yesterday. Developing countries must rely on themselves first and foremost. That was why structures for regional economic integration were emerging from Africa to the Orient.

CONGO

Benjamin Bounkoulou, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Francophonie, said that like most other African countries, Congo's economic and social situation was critical. Debt-servicing was becoming unbearable for developing countries' troubled economies. The international community must build a "new order based on more dynamic and more innovative North-South relations". Congo wanted an open and non-discriminatory international trade system, with specific agreements on commodity prices and the debt crisis. The New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s had fallen far short of expectations. The promotion of confidence and security was becoming a new priority in Africa. The States of Central Africa were committed to the creation of a system of collective security through the promotion of confidence, security and development. The UN and the international community should support that initiative.

CÔTE D'IVOIRE

Foreign Minister Amara Essy said that Africa—a continent representing only 2 per cent of world trade—was becoming even more economically marginalized. The most recent United Nations Development Programme report on human development placed 41 African countries among the lowest 50 of 173 countries. This economic crisis was due in part to the collapse of commodity prices, the subsequent exacerbation of the foreign debt burden, general inadequacies in economic management, and intolerable rise in unemployment, particularly among youth. Extension of the democratic process in Africa was evident, but there could be neither democracy without economic development, nor genuine sustainable development without democracy. The international community must support African development efforts through adequate financial aid and strengthened scientific and technical capacities. The North-South dialogue must be reactivated to establish further means to eradicate underdevelopment and poverty—the greatest threats to the world today.

DJIBOUTI

Foreign Minister Abdou Bolock Abdou said the UN should have its own volunteer rapid-deployment force under Security Council control and the Secretary-General's command, trained and armed for limited and defensive actions and "provided with a logistical support capable of dealing with any eventuality". The Security Council should add a permanent member for each region. Djibouti deplored the "policy of double standards being pursued" by the UN, which "allows the criminals in Bosnia to operate with impunity". The UN must ensure that its resolutions are respected and complied with, or "'collective security' will come to mean 'selective security'". The poverty of the Third World, compounded by "artificial borders inherited from the colonial era", was another "catalyst for conflict". Those countries, "once buffer-States for the super-Powers", have become veritable arsenals and, with the added element of poverty, the regimes in power thus tend to opt more often for force than for reason.

EGYPT

Foreign Minister Amre Moussa proposed that developing countries establish a "grouping for the Third World" to coordinate their positions on "political, economic and social aspects of various world issues" and "shape their contribution towards the laying of the foundations of the new world order". This Assembly had begun amid increasing optimism about solutions to the question of Palestine and the problem of South Africa. "We are encouraged by the initial outcome we saw recently on both the Palestinian-Israeli and the Jordanian-Israeli tracks and look forward to similar results on the Syrian and Lebanese tracks." The Middle East should become a weapon-free zone. The current world economic situation "remains in the hands of the industrialized countries". However, recession in industrialized countries has led to depression and increasing unemployment and poverty rates in developing countries. Developing countries—most in the throes of rigorous programmes of economic reform—were helpless before protectionist measures.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Dámaso-Obiang Ndong, Permanent Representative to the UN, supported the Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa, which was working for peace and confidence-building among States of the subregion. "We are trying to prevent the emergence of conflicts in the subregion by developing measures to alleviate situations of conflict." Industrialized countries must understand the need to resolve, on mutually agreed terms, the external debt problem of underdeveloped countries. Developed countries—"which bear the greatest responsibility for the deterioration of the global ecosystem"—must help countries that had been asked to limit their legitimate right to use their natural assets. Equatorial Guinea rejected those who defamed its Government, claiming that "democracy imposed by foreign interests becomes corrupt and falls apart".

ERITREA

President Isaias Afwerki said: "Eritrea has not only secured peace and stability; it has made the rare achievement of establishing warm relations of cooperation with its former enemy, Ethiopia." Africa was "sliding back and being left behind" with poverty, suffering and desperation for millions of its people. "Many of the dictators who have sown so much havoc and suffering were in fact brought to power and sustained during the years of the cold war by sections of the international community." Africa's marginalization, poverty and desperation cannot be "walled in within the continent's boundaries", since it was bound to threaten global prosperity and stability. By and large, the international aid programme was "deeply flawed, unfair, unjust and ill-structured to respond to the vital needs of recipient communities", with aid decided on the basis of the interests and agendas of donors. The international community was more responsive to putting out fires than to preventing them, and once the fires were put out it turned its back on "the smouldering combustible remains".

ETHIOPIA

Seyoum Mesfin, Foreign Minister for the Transitional Government, said that, following Eritreans' decision for sovereign statehood, Addis Ababa and Asmara had taken steps to forge an era of cooperation. The wounds of war had begun to heal, and building shared prosperity was progressing in earnest. Peace had provided Ethiopia with the chance to concentrate on reconstruction and laid the groundwork for sustainable development. The problem of refugees and persons "displaced by a host of calamities" continued to haunt the Horn of Africa subregion. UNOSOM was a guarantor against a slide into anarchy in Somalia, and should continue its task until the objectives of the Addis Ababa Agreement were fully achieved. Humanitarian work should be absolutely depoliticized. Those who hampered the delivery of relief aid to the needy were "criminals". Likewise, those who held human survival hostage to their political agendas should also be regarded as "criminals".

GABON

Pascaline Mferri Bongo, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Francophonie, said the changes in South Africa would have a definite impact on the democratization process in Africa and on the continent's development. In Somalia, the time had come for the international community to give priority to the path of dialogue and negotiation. "What is truly at stake for Africa is essentially the economy. It will determine to a great extent the preservation of unity, peace and security on our continent." The marginalization of Africa in the world economy had only grown during the past five years. Never had the UN been called on to such a degree by the international community as in the past few years. If it was to meet expectations, it must adapt to the demands of the times, including equitable representation in the Security Council and an expanded membership.

GAMBIA

Foreign Minister Omar B. Sey said Africa paid one third of its total export income to developed countries to service its debt—a situation that could not continue. Africa's indebtedness and lower production output in agriculture and industry were aggravated by serious inflation, which had contributed to a steep decline in savings and investment. The international community's commitment to sustainable development in Africa could be enhanced by encouraging increased direct foreign investment and transfer of financial resources. Gambia condemned the "naked and brutal aggression" by UNITA against the Government and people of Angola. Angola's elections must be respected, and the international community should support action against any force that sought to disregard or overturn the vote. In South Africa, there were clear indications that the peace process was on track and that change was irreversible.

GHANA

Foreign Minister Obed Y. Asamoah said that UN readiness to act decisively in Somalia contrasted sharply with "the timidity and hesitation" that marked its presence in the former Yugoslavia, threatening to erode the Organization's credibility. Whatever mistake the UN Operation in Somalia may have made, it was "grotesque for any Somali leader to seek to be a hero" by engaging the UN in combat. The situation in Sudan cried out for a peaceful solution and for greater UN involvement. The world community had a responsibility to maintain its vigilance regarding South Africa until the elections on 27 April 1994, which would install an acceptable constitutional programme for a transitional Government. The UN peace plan for Western Sahara must be allowed to work, and the timetable for elections must be respected. The source of underdevelopment could be largely traced to a global economic system that had been inimical to the interests of developing and poor countries.

GUINEA

Ibrahima Sylla, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said the Security Council must decide on a new strategy to overcome obstacles to peace in Somalia. The world economic crisis was

aggravating the already precarious conditions for development in Third World countries. So long as the question of indebtedness was not studied in a global, concerted manner, the socio-economic development programmes of the Third World would be in jeopardy. Lack of resources for development led to a mass exodus from the countries of the South to the countries of the North. The UN should implement new and dynamic strategies with a view to establishing a new world order based on equality, justice, peace, cooperation and respect for democratic values. The progress achieved in disarmament should be pursued in the hope that the resources thus released would contribute to the recovery of the world economy.

GUINEA-BISSAU

Bernardino Cardoso, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said the economic situation in Africa was becoming more and more worrying. Incomes in sub-Saharan Africa averaged $490 per person per year—the lowest in the world. Africa was the only region where the number of people living in poverty was likely to increase markedly before the year 2000. Its debt burden had continued to grow by about 10 per cent over the last decade. Africa's economy was worsening to such an extent that it "must break with routine thinking and devise new instruments and methods in order to understand and properly respond to the needs of a continent which is economically in anguish". Guinea-Bissau welcomed the European Community's efforts to lay the foundation for closer economic cooperation among the five Portugese-speaking countries of Africa, although they were not geographically contiguous.

KENYA

Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, said that a very heavy influx of Somali refugees into Kenya had had a devastating effect on his country's most ecologically fragile parts. The border region had suffered serious environmental destruction as a result of excessive cutting of trees, and physical and social infrastructures had been overstretched by excessive usage and overloading. Meanwhile, numerous acts of banditry by armed gangs entering Kenya resulted in the loss of both civilians and security personnel at an unacceptably high rate. As peace was being restored in Somalia, Kenya was cooperating with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to accelerate the voluntary repatriation of refugees. His country wanted urgent assistance for the rehabilitation of physical and social infrastructures and restoration of the regional ecosystem. The Security Council must be reformed so that it is more transparent, representative and democratic in its decision-making process.

LESOTHO

Foreign Minister Molapo M. Qhobela said: "Like a world parliament, the United Nations must reflect in its structures the same democratic values that it advocates, the values of fairness, transparency and equitable representation, in order to validate the principle of equality of States." In the Security Council, Africa should be allotted at least two permanent seats. Lesotho hoped that the lessons of its peaceful transition to democracy would not be lost on South Africans, whose own chance to elect a government of their choice for the first time seemed within reach. Lesotho condemned UNITA for escalating its military actions. Least developed countries were continuing to experience a deterioration of their socio-economic situation owing to profound structural constraints and handicaps that reduced their ability to overcome the negative impact of external factors.

LIBERIA

Gabriel Baccus Matthews, Foreign Minister of the Interior Government of National Unity, said the 25 July 1993 Cotonou Agreement was a significant breakthrough in the quest for durable peace in Liberia. By agreeing on a process beginning with a cease-fire and leading to disarmament, demobilization and then free and fair elections, Liberians had finally decided on how power would be acquired in the country. He appealed for international aid for a reasonable period, for "the awesome tasks of repatriation, resettlement and rehabilitation". It would take time before the advantages of peace were translated into real improvements in the lives of the people. The Liberian experience had demonstrated that peace initiatives conceived and implemented within a subregional context, and supported and assisted by regional and international organizations, stood the best chance of success in conflict resolution.

LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

Omar Mustafa Al-Muntasser, Secretary of the General People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation, said Libya's eagerness to eliminate international terrorism was embodied in its call to convene a special General Assembly session to study the problem's causes and dimensions. UN sanctions had caused the Libyan people much misery and had cost them billions of dollars in material losses. There was a severe lack of spare parts for aircraft, which had led to a plane crash with 157 fatalities. Any collective security system subject to the veto power of some countries could not maintain international peace and security.

The Council should not apply double standards when dealing with those issues. The world was in the grip of unprecedented tensions and conflicts, which necessitated further efforts by the UN and regional organizations not only to resolve them, but also to prevent certain countries from monopolizing the resolution of such conflicts.

MALAWI

Nyemba Mbekeani, Minister of Trade and Industry, said Malawi had suffered tremendously from the adverse impact of the civil war in Mozambique. It had been hosting a large number of refugees from Mozambique. By 1992, that refugee population had soared to 1.5 million. Malawi wanted "uninterrupted repatriation of their brothers and sisters to their homes in Mozambique in safety and security". The time had come for representation in the Security Council to reflect the changed international political scene and geographical balance. The Council must not only be transparent in its decision-making; it needed to reflect the world today and not what it was 48 years ago. Africa deserved to have a permanent seat. In South Africa, all possible assistance must be intensified to remove all forms of violence, to ensure that the general elections take place in April 1994 and that a non-racial, democratic government would be installed.

MALI

Mohamed Alhousseini Touré, Minister for Foreign Affairs, for Malians living abroad and African Integration, said that, at the subregional level, which encompassed both western Africa south of the Sahara and the Arab Maghreb, Mali was dealing with "complex and difficult problems": instability borne of local conflicts; a dramatic rise in the number of refugees to more than 1.2 million in 1993; slow economic integration that restricted growth in the subregion; and religious questions that were daily gaining more ground and subjecting political institutions to new trials. Commitments made at the 1990 Paris Conference for least developed countries should be honoured. Steps must also be taken to help land-locked and transit developing countries. A main goal of African countries was to fight drought and desertification and to strengthen South-South cooperation.

MAURITANIA

Mohamed Abderahmane Ould Moine, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Coooperation, said the gap continued to widen between developing and industrialized countries. Africa was the continent which suffered most from the deteriorating international economic situation. How could countries that had barely enough resources to meet their own daily needs cope with tremendous debt obligations? Despite all the conventions, strategies and agreements aimed at promoting development, progress had remained static and in many countries had deteriorated. If industrialized countries had honoured commitments, tangible progress could have been achieved. In the struggle for African development, the more the sources of external aid dried up, the greater the need would be for self-reliance and mobilization by every country of its own resources.

MAURITIUS

Foreign Minister Ahmud Swalay Kasenally said that serious consideration should be given to a review of Charter provisions with an eye to looking anew at its contents and propose amendments in the light of new world realities. The UN system remained "ill-equipped for the scope of its current operations and activities". The General Assembly ought to be encouraged, by its increased membership and a general trend towards democratization, to assume a more preponderant place in the affairs of the Organization. The Security Council's mandate was "expanding beyond the traditional delineation of threats to peace and security into such areas as human rights violations and humanitarian assistance, through preventive diplomacy and innovative peace-keeping operations". A more representative, expanded Council would earn recognition and legitimate acceptance and be able to take action quickly and effectively "with the imprimatur of fairness".

MOROCCO

Abdellatif Filali, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said consent in principle had been given to the compromise the Secretary-General had proposed regarding criteria for voter eligibility in Western Sahara. The Arab Maghreb Union (Algeria, Morocco, Libya, Mauritania, Tunisia) was determined to overcome difficulties and go forward to build an effective structure of cooperation and solidarity in the area. A real solution in the Middle East was possible only if the momentum for peace was allowed to run its full course and reach its goal with the consent of all peoples of the region. A settlement should restore to Palestinians their rights, including their right to an independent State on their soil with Jerusalem as its capital. The world needed a new code of conduct for international relations to bring the "principles of justice and partnership to the management of world affairs".

MOZAMBIQUE

President Joaquim Alberto Chissano said that after the international community had caught up with initial delays in setting up the United Nations Operation in Mozambique, RENAMO had

found new pretexts to further delay implementation of the General Peace Agreement. In its "dilatory manoeuvres", RENAMO was "moving from precondition to precondition", though many of the preconditions had nothing to do with the Agreement or blatantly breached it. The Government could not excuse itself from organizing and holding multiparty elections no later than October 1994. Mozambique was deeply concerned over the resumption of hostilities in Angola, not only because they represented a serious threat to peace, but also because they threatened to perpetuate instability in southern Africa. He wanted compliance with the Bicesse Accords, respect for election results, and the unconditional implementation of relevant Security Council resolutions to obtain a lasting peace in Angola.

NAMIBIA

Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab said the transfer and reintegration of Walvis Bay and the offshore islands to Namibia would take place on 28 February 1994, marking the completion of Namibia's decolonization and unification. Namibia applauded South Africa's elections in April 1994 and urged all parties to participate in the work of the Transitional Executive Council. It also called on South Africa to end the ever-escalating violence. In Angola, negotiations should lead to an early cease-fire, allowing delivery of humanitarian assistance. Elections must be conducted in Mozambique in an atmosphere of peace, trust and cooperation. Changes towards a more representative Security Council would enhance its credibility, legitimacy and authority. Africa needed an effective presence on the Council, as did Asia and Latin America. "The outmoded and undemocratic veto power should be abolished altogether."

NIGER

President Mahamane Ousmane said for years Africa had suffered from recession, a decline in living standards and a widespread breakdown in the social fabric. Many benefits gained in the early years of independence had been "irretrievably lost". Real per capita income had shrunk below the 1980 level. The relationship between investment and gross national product continued to deteriorate. In some regions of Africa, standards of living, already among the world's harshest, had reached levels that were "unacceptable for a modern civilization". Yet the Governments of those countries had courageously undertaken harsh reforms and adopted painful austerity measures for their people to improve their economic environment. Those adjustment policies had not produced the expected results due to inadequate financial and material means and the burden of foreign debt. Niger called upon developed countries to agree to "a blanket cancellation" of the debt of the least developed countries.

NIGERIA

Ernest Shonekan, Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, said a democratic Government was within sight in South Africa, although the road had not been smooth. Democratic enterprise in Africa faced many problems, including economic underdevelopment and a high level of illiteracy. Nevertheless, Africa had decided to "face up to the challenge of putting in place an enduring system of democratic governance". Several countries, including Nigeria, catered for the needs of millions of refugees. Nigeria urged the countries of origin of these people to create an environment conducive to their return. "When it is borne in mind that debt-servicing obligations are estimated at about 30 per cent of the value of our exports, the crippling effect on our economies becomes apparent." The African economic crisis, a major source of social and political turmoil in the region, seriously threatened long-term prospects for the global economy. The persistence of the crisis was not due to inaction on the part of African Governments.

RWANDA

President Juvenal Habyarimana said Rwanda was emerging from "a pointless and undeserved war" imposed on it three years ago, thanks to the 4 August 1993 Arusha Peace Agreement. The time had come for the long-term, enormous work of national reconstruction, reconciliation and democratization. Rwanda welcomed the establishment of a multiparty system by the constitutional review of 10 June 1991, by which 17 political parties were agreed upon. Five were forming a transitional Government that soon would be expanded to the Rwanda Patriotic Front for a new transitional period, leading to pluralist, free and democratic elections. Priorities were post-war economic development, including emergency assistance to those displaced by the war; reintegration of Rwandese refugees; reconstruction; and social and economic reintegration of demobilized military personnel. He was grateful to the UN for establishing the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda.

SENEGAL

Moustapha Niasse, Minister of State, Minister for Foreign Affairs and for Senegalese living abroad, said that by calling into question the validity of Angolan elections, UNITA once again had plunged the country into an atmosphere fraught with danger and uncertainty. The magnitude of destruction and suffering caused by that situation warranted urgent efforts to arrive at a definitive cease-

fire and a resumption of negotiations. A great deal still needed to be done to restore peace and organize a viable State in Somalia. The infrastucture had been devastated, the State had collapsed, and fratricidal internal strife had engendered massive displacements of the population. The UN was on the right path there, conducting the most ambitious and largest operation ever organized in Africa. Senegal was pleased at that operation's organization in a country that was experiencing "a tragic and complex situation". The proposal for an "Agenda for Development" to accompany the "Agenda for Peace" deserved international consideration.

SEYCHELLES

Danielle de St. Joree, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Planning and Environment, said that the small size of island States like

Seychelles was the "source of innumerable constraints on economic and social development", such as chronic deficits in trade balances, the high cost of social infrastructures in relation to their utilization and, especially, excessive indebtedness. The convergence of those factors exacerbated the fragility of small island economies, which were based on one or two sectors such as tourism and fishing. Countries such as Seychelles needed specific programmes and mechanisms to make it possible to move towards sustainable development. The Indian Ocean should truly become a zone of peace and cooperation to the benefit of coastal States.

SIERRA LEONE

Karefa Kargbo, Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said that two years after the adoption of the New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, the experience for many countries, especially the least developed ones, had been one of disappointment and frustration. Even though most African countries had carried out structural adjustment programmes and put in place democratic structures, the development partnership promised by the New Agenda had not been forthcoming. The trauma that many African societies were experiencing daily in the fight against poverty, malnutrition and disease must not be allowed to become a way of life. "We in Africa would dearly love to be able to lift ourselves by our own bootstraps but we cannot do so when our bootstraps are firmly in the hands of others." Unless the international community applied creative and effective comprehensive measures, such as debt-for-development swaps and other debt-relief measures, the solution to Africa's economic crisis would continue to be illusory.

SUDAN

Foreign Minister Husein Suliman Abu Salih said his country rejected policies that "reflect a double standard in dealing with human rights, because the Sudan has been victimized by such policies". Sudan hoped that universality of human rights would

not be misconstrued to justify denial of cultural, religious and indigenous specifics of various States and peoples. "Those who pose as defenders of human rights in the Sudan ignore the terrorist practices of the outlaws in southern Sudan." Sudan denounced terrorism in all its forms. "Real terrorism is when a single super-Power utilizes its might to terrorize small developing countries for no reason except that they opted for a path of independent decision-making and rejected blind proselytism." His country had suffered tremendously from "attempts to tarnish its image" by making its relief delivery efforts look like failures and obstructions to the inflow of supplies. Sudan's priority was to attain a just and lasting peace in southern Sudan and end the war that exposed innocent civilians to the "scourges of death, famine, disease and displacement".

SWAZILAND

King Mswati III said Swaziland and the other countries in Africa's southern and eastern regions had formed their own regional common markets. The Southern African Development Community and the Preferential Trade Area for eastern and southern African States were models of inter-nation cooperation. Through these organizations, "we are trying to open up more regional markets to complement those we have established overseas. Our long-term target is to achieve a measure of regional self-reliance." Swaziland would formally begin soon the process of returning the tens of thousands of Mozambican refugees to their homeland, after hosting them for many years. South Africa also gave some reason for long-term hope of a peaceful transition to majority rule. Swaziland appealed to leaders of all parties to impose maximum restraint on those who threatened the real progress that had been made.

TOGO

Ouattara Fambare Natchaba, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said Africans—already the victims of undernourishment, famine and all kinds of other ills—were bearing the full brunt of falling export prices, deteriorating terms of trade, and the debt burden. Africa had been struggling for more than a decade "under an economic shock therapy" that left no chance of success. The international community should: write off debt or reduce it substantially; make repayment conditions more flexible; and set up a diversification fund to transform the commodities sector and stimulate economic growth. As the 1980s were "a lost decade" for Africa, during the 1990s industrialized countries should agree to an increase in financial flows to poorer countries. It was a shame to see aid levels falling just when African countries were making major efforts to promote democracy and manage their economies in a sound and rigorous manner.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

TUNISIA

Foreign Minister Habib Ben Yahia said the dispute between Libya and three western countries was a source of deep concern for Tunisia, which had worked hard to find an honourable settlement that would safeguard the interests of all parties. An end to decades of confrontation, destruction and suffering was in view in the Middle East. The historic mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO and the declaration of principles relating to the occupied territories were all important signposts along the road towards recognizing the legitimate rights of Palestinians and promoting comprehensive peace in the Middle East. Tunisia hoped that Israel would reach an agreement with the Arab parties in order to achieve a just and lasting peace, guaranteeing that all peoples of the region would live in security and stability. Tunisia also hoped that all problems in the Gulf region would be "properly and rationally" resolved. The debt of developing countries should be rescheduled "by creating a special fund to finance job-creating development projects".

UGANDA

Paul K. Ssemogerere, Second Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that further measures on debt relief, including debt cancellation, were needed. "Regrettably, for Africa the critical economic situation and the trend of marginalization continue." Reversing that trend was crucial for Africa's survival in the geopolitical and economic system of the twenty-first century. Forging regional integration was an imperative if Africa was to end its underdevelopment and become a part of the global economy. African integration would create economies of scale, which were essential for the diversification of its economies. He welcomed the Abuja Treaty creating an African Economic Community. Countries of the eastern and southern Africa preferential trade area had resolved to establish a subregional common market. Resources once devoted to building armaments should be used for development both within and between nations. Unfortunately, at the international level, the peace dividend was not being "channelled towards assistance to developing countries".

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Joseph C. Rwegasira, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, said that the number of permanent and non-permanent seats on the Security Council should be expanded, taking into account the need to ensure equity in geographical representation. Unless the Council treated all challenges to its authority equally, it ran the risk of losing the international community's support and trust, which was crucial if its actions were to be accepted as legitimate. "In addition, the old problem of the outdated veto is still with us and failure to do something about it will not make it go away." There was a growing conviction that the Council had been stretching its interpretation of the Charter to include things not foreseen in Chapter VII, such as humanitarian emergencies, human rights, ecological threats, drug trafficking and the like. While the Council must be enabled to respond to new situations, there was a real danger that it would allow itself to be guided not by the Charter but by the dictates of a few Member States.

ZAIRE

Foreign Minister Mpinga Kasenda appealed to the international community and, in particular, to those countries that wrongly believed they had received a mandate to administer Zaire, to let the Zairians settle their own problems. "We therefore urge our usual partners to help us overcome this crisis instead of dividing us by canonizing some and rendering others anathema." Africa had not been "spared by the situation of semi-war, semi-peace in which young States must manage bloody conflicts which sorely try their fragile State structures and their precarious socio-economic infrastructures". Zaire, which neither made nor sold arms, deplored the attitude of those countries whose citizens manufactured arms and sold them to belligerents in Angola and then came and "shed crocodile tears in international forums over the fate of the victims of this fratricidal war". Zaire hoped that there would be genuine reconciliation within the black community in South Africa so that a fratricidal war did not break out.

ZIMBABWE

President Robert G. Mugabe said the recent proliferation of situations of conflict, instability and tension around the globe called for greater participation and involvement of the UN's general membership in the Security Council's workings. There was, therefore, a need to adjust its membership, structure and methods of work to reflect the changes in international relations since 1945. Because of the dramatic increase in UN membership, the Council had become less representative and needed to be enlarged. Zimbabwe was concerned about the "apparent impression often created by the Council" that majority votes "constitute international law, regardless of the provisions of the Charter and other relevant international statutes". Official development assistance flows, on which developing countries depended, had declined in recent years, while direct investment had constituted only a marginal percentage of all inflows to those countries, particularly in Africa. The majority of African countries had made "great sacrifices and encountered untold difficulties" in implementing economic reform measures.

AFGHANISTAN

Foreign Minister Hedayat Amin Arsala said to ensure that the entire Afghan nation participated in determining its future political structure, his country planned to hold elections in 1994. The UN had been asked to help organize and supervise the election process. Afghanistan welcomed the Tajik authorities' decision to solve their internal political problems through negotiations so that Tajik refugees in Afghanistan could return to Tajikistan voluntarily with confidence, in security and with honour, in accordance with international norms. To that end, Afghanistan was planning to reach a trilateral agreement among itself, Tajikistan and the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. The situations in Kashmir and Bosnia and Herzegovina were tragic. "Untold atrocities committed against the innocent Bosnian Muslim population" were an affront to the UN and an insult to humanity. Afghanistan needed urgent support to intensify its struggle against the cultivation and trafficking of drugs.

BAHRAIN

Foreign Minister Shaikh Mohamed Bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa said: "The world now stands at the crossroads of history, where it faces difficult challenges. This is especially so because certain evil tendencies have caused the eruption of volcanoes of malevolent hatreds and racism, which have destroyed many hopes and shattered the expectations of millions of people to achieve security and prosperity for future generations." This was a time of profound change in States in which people's aspirations for stability and development merged with fears generated by the gap between a developed, affluent world and a world unable to meet the minimum requirements of decent living. He proposed that the post-cold-war world should be built on new concepts concerning issues of world peace and development "that would rid the world of the residues and perceptions of the ideological and strategic thinking that prevailed throughout the cold-war period".

BANGLADESH

Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia said a "yawning gap" existed between the economies and cultures of developed and developing countries. But "poverty is not the same as bankruptcy: the South, where Bangladesh belongs, has a glorious past, when there was economic and cultural prosperity. We are now engaged in the task of building a new future based on our culture, tradition and availability of resources." Bangladesh's jute products were more acceptable, in environmental terms, than various chemical and synthetic products. However, in the face of massive expansion of the use of synthetic fibres that polluted the environment, Bangladesh's jute industry was threatened with extinction. In the field of external trade, developing countries were being subjected to all sorts of discrimination by developed countries. That must give way to strong and realistic North-South trade links based on equality.

BHUTAN

Foreign Minister Lyompo Dawa Tsering said UN long-term success would "depend on how democratic it becomes in its functioning and to what extent it will involve all its Members, large and small, in the decision-making process". Bhutan hoped the Organization would "become the centrepiece of a more just and equitable world order and will speak for the whole of humanity rather than just for a privileged few". The recession that had afflicted much of the world economy in the past year had not shown any signs of improvement. While the least developed countries had initiated some bold and painful economic reforms, budget constraints on donors and competing claims on aid resources had slowed development assistance. Bhutan urged all nuclear States not to carry out further tests and to negotiate towards a comprehensive test ban. "No country which supplies arms can dissociate itself from the moral responsibility for the use of such arms."

BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

Foreign Minister Prince Mohamed Bolkiah said the success of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) showed what could be done through responsible regional efforts and patient multilateral action. He hoped that "our regional and subregional associations" would play a crucial supporting role for UN operations. The more that was done, the more the UN would be able to act in a way in which it was most effective—"as the authority of last resort". Brunei said that current developments in the Middle East should start a process to restore all legitimate Palestinian rights. Brunei Darussalam strongly supported Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Charter would be "severely compromised" if the UN became "a party to any arrangement which forces a sovereign nation and fellow Member of the United Nations to submit to aggression". That would both condone and reward terrorism.

CAMBODIA

Sdech Krom Luong Norodom Ranariddh, First Prime Minister of the Royal Government, said the success of the UN Transition Authority in Cambodia could be described as a combination of trust in the international community's good will to save the country and of the will of Cambodians to save their homeland. By their huge participation in last May's free and fair elections, Cambodians played a decisive role in sowing the seeds of democracy in the country. The establishment of the Royal Government of Cambodia would ensure the social stability and peace necessary to enable its people to dedicate themselves to Cambodia's

reconstruction and development. Cambodia would welcome the Khmer Rouge as advisers to the Royal Army and the Royal Government. In return, the Khmer Rouge must assume the same responsibilities undertaken by the other three former parties to the Paris Agreements. Cambodia, a devastated country, needed international aid.

CHINA

Qian Qichen, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, opposed the "all too frequent arbitrary use of sanctions by one country to bring pressure to bear on another under the pretext of controlling arms transfers, while engaging in massive arms sales of one's own which jeopardize the sovereignty and security of the country concerned". It disapproved of the "indiscriminate" use of sanctions or force in the name of the UN. Humanitarian missions must not be transformed into military operations. If complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons could not be achieved soon enough, then the nuclear Powers should agree not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and not to use them against non-nuclear weapon States or nuclear-free zones. Reform of the Security Council and other UN organs should take due account of the principle of equitable geographical distribution and should accommodate the interests of developing countries.

CYPRUS

President Glafcos Clerides said a large component of his country's problem in its present dimensions was the "massive violation" of the human rights of displaced persons evicted by force from their homes by the "Turkish forces of occupation". The Turkish side's intransigence had rendered every effort to find a solution impossible. If a viable and lasting solution of the problem was to be found, and a federally united State established "without occupation troops and settlers", concerted action was required by the international community as a whole. Cyprus was a test-case with regard to the UN's effectiveness in peacemaking. "We remain committed to reaching a peaceful solution." Gaps in international law and practice—failure to uphold human rights or upholding them in one situation and "closing our eyes" to their violation in others—must no longer be acceptable behaviour, "particularly in the new world order to which we all aspire".

DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Deputy Foreign Minister Song Won Ho said his country had neither nuclear weapons, the intention or need to develop those weapons, nor the financial resources to support their production. It would not object to inspection of its nuclear facilities, "but only when impartiality is fully guaranteed". All UN members should encourage a negotiated resolution of the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula. Nuclear weapons deployed on the peninsula and its surrounding regions should be dismantled. The Korean Armistice Agreement should be replaced with a peace agreement. His country was "not at anyone's beck and call", nor did it "dance to anyone else's tune". In the world there were big and small countries but there could not be senior or junior countries. All nations should have unrestricted freedom to choose and develop their own political, economic and social system on the basis of their sovereign rights.

FIJI

Ratu Manasa K. Seniloli, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that as global warming and sea level rise could seriously threaten some small island States, Fiji reaffirmed support for the Framework Convention on Climate Change. His country was encouraged that 162 countries had signed the Convention and 26 had ratified it. Fiji hoped that the required number of ratifications—50— would soon be achieved so that the Convention could enter into force. Developing countries lost about $100 billion a year in export revenues as a result of market barriers in industrialized countries—double the official development assistance they provided. It was ironic that taxpayers in industrialized countries paid both for aid and imports that were more costly as a result of trade barriers, while the poorest developing countries lost more in trade than they gained in aid. Further progress in trade liberalization through the Uruguay Round was urgent. As for New Caledonia's self-determination, Fiji hoped that the Matignon and Oudinot accords would be respected so that indigenous Kanaks could take part in the 1998 referendum.

INDIA

Foreign Minister Dinesh Singh said India was ready to initiate a dialogue with Pakistan to build mutual confidence and promote a climate of stability in the region. Pakistan should have such a dialogue, "instead of trying to go around the world accentuating differences that will be difficult to resolve later". The UN would have to take strong action against terrorists who "try to upset democratically-taken decisions in a country by using force and killing people". Any unilateral use of human rights as an instrument of political pressure or intervention, as an obstacle to trade or a condition for development aid, served the opposite purpose, impeding full realization of human rights. A more balanced and expanded Security Council was inevitable. Population, the size of the economy and the future potential of countries concerned should be taken into account, along with equitable geographical distribution and contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

INDONESIA

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said peace and security could not be sustained unless the very concept of security itself was expanded "to embrace such non-military threats as structural underdevelopment and mass poverty, acute resource scarcity and severe environmental degradation, which together with prolonged natural disasters conjure up the looming spectre of massive and uncontrollable cross-border migrations". The debt crisis of developing countries was a manifestation of the shortcomings of the international system in providing access to adequate long-term resources on satisfactory terms. The gap was filled by private banks, lending on "inappropriate terms". Debt-servicing became an "oppressive burden" on borrower countries when export earnings declined following the collapse of commodity prices and growing restrictions on market access to developed countries.

IRAN

Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati said the recent Israel-PLO accord was not a realistic solution to the root causes of the conflict. Israel's attempts to "fan the flames of discord, distrust and division among States in the region" could not legitimize the "unrealistic, short-sighted and imposed plans as solutions or mechanisms to return peace and stability to the region". In the Security Council, "there should be no room for undemocratic practices, hidden agendas, a lack of transparency or indifference to the views of the international community, as reflected in the General Assembly". The Council acted on "behalf" of the UN's entire membership and was accountable to that membership. Its powers did not emanate from "any inherent right". In today's international climate, the primacy of political interests of the public had generated grave concerns about the Council's ability to take "prompt and effective action". The Assembly must therefore fully and deliberately exercise its prerogatives in that regard as the highest organ of the UN.

IRAQ

Foreign Minister Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf said the UN should not permit itself to become "a tool for serving the selfish interests of certain dominant Powers", first among which was the United States. The "most telling example" of United States hegemony over the UN was what was being done to Iraq even though it had declared its commitment to Security Council resolutions, "which it fully implements". The "war of destruction launched against Iraq by the United States and its allies, the continued imposition of the comprehensive blockade and the denial of Iraq's right to export its oil and use its frozen assets in foreign banks have all combined to make Iraq unable to provide even the most elementary of its people's basic humanitarian needs, such as food and medication". The United States continued to "perpetuate direct and unilateral acts of military aggression against Iraq under various false pretexts and flimsy justifications". The Council had done "absolutely nothing" about Israel's military aggression against an Iraqi peaceful-use nuclear reactor.

ISRAEL

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said the recent peace agreement was "an ongoing, profound commitment to the next generation of Arabs and Israelis, Christians, Muslims, Jews and people of all other faiths". Israel was determined to make that agreement into a permanent success. A newly achieved security would serve the aspirations of Israelis and the necessities of Palestinians. To construct a modern Middle East, "we have to rid ourselves of the costly follies of the past and adopt the principles of modern economy". He said: "Let peace be comprehensive, embracing all issues, all countries, all generations. We suggest that we all negotiate together as equals. We offer a common ground of mutual respect and mutual compromise. . . . We did not give up territorial control to engage ourselves in economic superiority. The age of domination, political or economic, is dead." Differences "should not prevent us from . . . combating the desert and offering fertility to an arid land".

JAPAN

Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa said the development of the global economy based on principles of market economy should be promoted. Japan and other industrialized nations must support developing countries and former socialist countries in their political and economic reforms. Assistance to countries in transition must not come at the expense of aid to developing countries. As the world's top donor, Japan intended to provide up to $75 billion in official development assistance over a five-year period. Views expressed by many Member States indicated the need to expand the Security Council's membership, while ensuring its effectiveness. Japan supported the NPT's indefinite extension beyond 1995, but that should not mean the perpetuation of the possession of nuclear weapons by nuclear-weapon States. Japan strongly encouraged North Korea to fully implement the safeguards agreement with the IAEA.

JORDAN

Crown Prince El-Hassan Bin Talal said the Palestinian-Israeli declaration of principles was a significant step towards achieving a negotiated settlement in the troubled Middle East. On the Jordanian-Israeli track, a carefully worked-out common agenda had been adopted. Jordan had supported Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) longer than any other party. There was considerable alarm in the Muslim world at suggestions

that Islam might replace communism as a global threat. Islam was not "a monolithic creed of violence, intolerance and oppression". Extremism existed in the Muslim world, as it did in Christian, Jewish, Hindu and secular worlds. "But to employ reductive stereotypes which demonize one fifth of the world's population must ultimately be self-defeating." Continued sanctions had a special impact on the most vulnerable segments of Iraqi society and neighbouring States, including Jordan and Turkey.

KAZAKHSTAN

Foreign Minister Touleutai S. Suleimenov said that only by taking preventive measures based on global and regional cooperation between nations could peace be ensured and maintained. That was at the heart of creating a system of collective security in Asia within the framework of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-building Measures in Asia, an initiative formulated in 1992 by Kazakhstan. It called on all UN members to convene a special General Assembly session devoted to strengthening international peace and security, preventive diplomacy, human rights, and enhancing the UN role in an interdependent and integrated world. It also supported Uzbekistan's proposal to set up a special UN forum on the Aral Sea. Kazakhstan needed $2 billion to cover the dismantling of nuclear weapons, to eliminate the consequences of nuclear tests and to solve the Aral Sea crisis.

KUWAIT

Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said the Iraqi regime

"remains in its philosophy, behaviour, thinking and nature" a threat to regional and global peace and security, persisting in its aggressiveness, while it "thumbs its nose" at the world community. Iraq's "desperate endeavours" to have sanctions lifted would be "totally futile" unless it complied with new boundary demarcations. It must also desist from "the false claims to so-called historical rights". Iraq's procrastination in implementing Security Council resolutions extended to the release of all prisoners. Iraq also failed to return some Kuwaiti property and still oppressed its own population in northern and southern Iraq. Responsibility for the plight of Iraqis "lies squarely on the regime itself, which must be held accountable for all the dire consequences of its atrocities".

KYRGYZSTAN

Foreign Minister Ednan O. Karabayev said Kyrgyzstan was one of the few former Soviet republics to have adopted economic reforms for transition to a market economy. Thousands of young people were coming into the cities from the villages without any real professional training or any chance of prospering. Kyrgystan—which could not yet give its economy the necessary impetus to enable it to solve major social problems—needed investment. "Like other relatively small countries, we need a kind of Marshall Plan. The experience of many States has shown that this would be profitable for the wealthy countries and donors in many ways." As for recent "tragic conflicts with religious roots", one possible solution was a universal convention on freedom of religion, calling for people of different faiths "to apply ethical and moral principles for the sake of peace and harmony".

LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Foreign Minister Somsavat Lengsavad said that Laotian participation as an observer in the Singapore ministerial meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) had given new impetus to joint efforts to promote cooperation in different fields. In Cambodia, the promulgation of a new Constitution and Government would open the way to peace, stability and national and regional harmony. The sensitive question of promoting human rights required serious consideration on the basis of the principles of non-selectivity, objectivity and impartiality. The historic, cultural, social, economic and religious realities of each country should also be taken into account. With the end of bipolarization, it was important that States place their hopes in the UN, which was "truly intended to be universal and institutional, capable of maintaining international peace and security, of promoting development and of having justice and law prevail the world over".

LEBANON

Prime Minister Rafic Hariri said there could be no firm and lasting peace in the Middle East without Lebanon and Syria. The Israeli-Palestinian accord "will remain a mere single step unless it is quickly complemented by substantive solutions on the other Arab tracks". He said: "If we really wish to put an end once and for all to the chapters of pain and anguish in the Middle East, then the cause of the Palestinians should be addressed" so they could live a decent life. Lebanon expected the UN to work forcefully for the implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978), and to ensure Israel's total withdrawal from Lebanon. Peace in Lebanon had been, and continued to be, the *sine qua non* for stability in the Middle East and for the establishment of a just and comprehensive peace in the entire region. Any peace arrangements would remain fragile should the international community choose to tolerate the continuation of a situation that threatened Lebanon with "potentially explosive disputes".

MALAYSIA

Prime Minister Dató Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad said the "most undemocratic aspect" of the UN was the veto power given to the five permanent Security Council members. "We can accept some weighting in their favour, but for each of them alone to be more powerful than the whole membership of the United Nations is not acceptable; it was not before, it is not now, and will not be in the future." A formula must be found to bring in new permanent Council members. Malaysia subscribed to the universality of human rights, but not to the "irresponsible variety propounded by the West". Human rights was not a "licence to do anything without regard to the rights of others". The rights of the majority were just as valid as the rights of the minority or the individual. "A society has a right to protect itself from the unbridled exercise of rights by individuals or a minority, which in the West has contributed to the collapse of morality and of the structure of human society."

MALDIVES

Foreign Minister Fathulla Jameel said the North-South dialogue must be reactivated on a new basis comprising common interests and benefits and shared responsibilities.

South-South cooperation must allow States to pool their resources and pursue concrete development efforts within the framework of collective self-reliance and continued support for open trading systems. Sustainable development was the only way to guarantee continued life on Earth. All States should urgently ratify the climate and bio-diversity Conventions. The international community should not let the promotion of human rights be used by a few as an excuse for imposing uniformity in human behaviour and thinking, at the expense of diversity. Rather, it should emphasize the significance of the universality of human rights. "We know only too well the fate of societies that try to impose uniform thinking and behaviour on their peoples. Differences between individuals and societies should be valued. Such diversity enriches our family of nations."

MARSHALL ISLANDS

Foreign Minister Tom Kijiner said the way of life of the Marshall Islanders was imminently threatened by a rise in sea level. The Marshall Islands might cease to exist. Everyone in the Assembly Hall should "visit our corner of the world before it disappears". The world would be "greatly diminished by the loss of even one of the diverse cultures that have been crafted by mankind". For a low-lying atoll like the Marshall Islands, the Climate Change Convention might have come too late. The global conference on small island States would "increase worldwide understanding of the vulnerability of our islands". The will of the international community to live up to promises made at Rio would face its first test then. The Pacific islands were especially vulnerable to dangers posed by transport of nuclear material. Such shipments should cease. If they continued, States responsible must take every precaution to ensure the safety of States along the sea lanes.

FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA

Resio S. Moses, Secretary for External Affairs, expressed solidarity with all indigenous peoples of the world. The peoples of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories should be able to exercise their right to self-determination. Members of the South Pacific Forum opposed nuclear weapons testing. Micronesia called on all nuclear Powers not to treat the recent testing by one of those Powers—an aberration—as "an incentive to turn backwards, but rather to restore and hold to their collective discipline". Micronesia also called on the world community to join in a true partnership for sustainable development. One important focus must be the land and coastal areas "within our region", to accommodate appropriate development without degrading either the land or its surrounding marine space. Another broader focus must be the ocean itself—to respect and build upon growing scientific knowledge of its complex ecological system.

MONGOLIA

Tserenpiliin Gombosuren, Minister for External Relations, said Mongolia, which last year had declared its territory a nuclear-weapon-free zone, welcomed the idea of

turning Central Asia into such a zone. No tangible progress had been registered in addressing the issues of poverty, external debt, drugs, organized crime, the widening gap between the affluent and the poor, and environmental crises. It was time to address resolutely the long-standing agenda relating to economic disparities between the North and the South, including eradication of poverty, debt relief, elimination of trade protectionism and an early and successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round. Though the cold war was over, "hot wars" had multiplied. On the one hand, the spirit of cooperation and interaction was prevalent. New democracies were making headway in the face of the formidable difficulties of transition. On the other, old, deep-seated problems still awaited solutions, and new ones, once held in check by the circumstances of the time, were emerging.

MYANMAR

Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw said that in spite of positive political and economic changes in Myanmar, "some continue to point an accusing finger at us" in regard to human rights. The diversity of its people's historical, cultural and religious backgrounds must neither be minimized nor forgotten. No unique model of human rights implementation could be "superimposed on a given

country. Any attempt to do so would only spell chaos." If human rights was used as a pretext for intervening in domestic affairs of States, that would only undermine the rights that needed protection. The return of "our prodigal sons" from 10 different national races gave the lie to allegations that minority groups in Myanmar were being oppressed. Myanmar would continue to receive those who were eligible to come, as soon as their cases could be processed. Myanmar gave priority to the narrowing of the gap between rich and poor, city dwellers and rural folk.

NEPAL

Girija Prasad Koirala, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said: "The United Nations is an organization of the powerful and the weak, the large and the small, the wealthy and the poor, each contributing its share to the common interest. It is in the interest of all to make the United Nations an effective and influential agent of constructive change in a turbulent world." In the maintenance of peace and security, implementation of enforcement measures under the UN Charter should be the step of last resort, "the exception to rather than the rule of the game". The "post-cold-war world is very much in need of order, but it is a world that cannot be ordered by military and economic Powers alone. At this time of historic transition, political leadership in all countries must show a higher order of statesmanship. It is time to shed old prejudices and parochialism. We should be able to pool the best of every civilization and culture for the greater good of mankind."

OMAN

Yousef Bin-Alawi Bin Abdullah, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, said regional cooperation in the area of economic and social development would be an indispensable prerequisite of any new order in the Middle East. European countries bore the responsibility of addressing the humanitarian, political, security and economic aspects of the problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The principles of human rights, justice and equality had always been the "lofty ideals that civilized Europe" had preached and called upon the world to adhere to. Paradoxically, the world had yet to see those lofty principles "translated into measures that would rescue the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina from their agony and from injustice and persecution". Oman hoped that developed countries would realize the importance of allowing developing countries to revitalize their economies so that the economic order might regain the balance between the supply side, upon which industrial economies depended, and the demand side, on which the economic growth of third world countries was based.

PAKISTAN

Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar said recent reports testified to "an alarming escalation in human rights abuses" by Indian forces in Kashmir, where the crisis called for urgent UN action. India had "unleashed a brutal reign of terror" in an "unconscionable attempt to bludgeon the Kashmiri people into submission and to thwart their legitimate struggle". That right to decide their own future had been specifically pledged to them by Pakistan, India and the UN, and was sanctified in Security Council resolutions. A fact-finding mission should be dispatched to Jammu and Kashmir. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, some Council members had obstructed moves to assist victims, "knowing full well that the perpetrators of the aggression were being aided and abetted by their ethnic neighbours". In Afghanistan, the accommodation achieved by mujahidin leaders and the formation of a coalition government were reasons for satisfaction.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Foreign Minister John Kaputin said his country was committed to New Caledonia's decolonization, with special safeguards for its indigenous people, the Kanaks. His Government strongly opposed any suggestion that the Matignon Accords might not be fully honoured, as did the Melanesian Spearhead Group and the South Pacific Forum. In French Polynesia, Polynesian demands for independence seemed to be gaining strength. Like most other UN members, Papua New Guinea was concerned at the possibility that reform of the international trading system might fail as a result of the "apparent intransigence of vested interests in certain developed countries during the final stages of the Uruguay Round of negotiations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade". Regional trading blocs were not an adequate substitute for an orderly international trading system.

PHILIPPINES

Robert R. Romulo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, said: "Economic barriers continue to be propped up by atavistic hands that seek to reverse the tide and hold back the march of global economic progress. The most obvious victim of these rearguard actions is the Uruguay Round, which . . . has yet to come to a conclusion. The ultimate victims are the global economy and the livelihoods and standards of living of the world's peoples. Here, the accusing finger of history points at certain developed countries, with their short-sighted subsidies and protectionist devices." Legitimate concerns over health, food safety, the environment, worker's welfare, and even human rights, including the rights of indigenous peoples—and now "social dumping"—were being invoked "to clothe in various guises policies of naked protectionism". Decisions on global finance continued to be made by a few, with the rest of the world standing by. Foreign debt was a "millstone round the necks of many developing countries".

QATAR

Foreign Minister Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassem Bin Jabr Al-Thani said Qatar welcomed the Israel-PLO agreement as a first step towards a just, complete and lasting solution to the Palestinian question. Qatar hoped the ongoing negotiations would make fundamental and parallel progress on all tracks. Short of that, no real peace could be achieved in the region. It supported all initiatives aimed at making the Middle East a region free from all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and their systems of delivery. Qatar viewed human rights as a high moral value that should not be used as a means of or a pretext for interference in the internal affairs of other States, and an issue that should not be addressed by varying standards that differed from the case of one State to the other. Each society had its own customs, tradition, culture and principles in line with its creed and outlook, and consideration should be given to the historical and cultural frameworks of the Arab and Islamic world, as well as to those of other cultures.

REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Foreign Minister Han Sung-Joo said the solution to the inter-Korean question should be sought in the context of the post-cold-war international order of reconciliation and cooperation. That meant active participation by both North and South Koreas in the regional and global order. The Republic of Korea was particularly concerned with the nuclear programme of North Korea, which should cooperate in removing any suspicions by honouring its non-proliferation obligations under the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). It should also implement the 1991 inter-Korean Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. The Republic of Korea was also deeply concerned about the safety of North Korean nuclear power reactors. The Security Council should be enlarged without sacrificing its effectiveness. The creation of a third category, with long-term membership but no veto, coupled with the expansion of the non-permanent membership, might be an answer.

SAMOA

Tofilau Eti Alesana, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said environmental security was crucial to Samoa and other countries of the South Pacific. "In my part of the world, island communities now live under the constant threat of ecological disasters." The global and adverse effects of induced climate change "prey on the natural vulnerabilities of many lands and their peoples, and severely undermine the national livelihood and economic development efforts of many governments". Small island States like Samoa and low-lying atolls faced a host of constraints. Isolated and ecologically fragile, they were the most vulnerable to external economic, trade and climatic factors. Without international cooperation and without an integrated approach, the outlook was not promising. The South Pacific region could not continue to be a testing ground for nuclear devices or a dumping ground for chemical wastes. South Pacific Forum countries continued to urge nuclear-power States to heed their concern and accede to the Protocols of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty—the paramount symbol of the region's commitment to a nuclear-free environment.

SAUDI ARABIA

Gaafar M. Allagany, Acting Permanent Representative to the UN, said the international community must work diligently to exploit the momentum generated by the Israel-PLO agreement in furthering the cause of peace. Consolidating that step required tangible and positive results in negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis, especially regarding the issue of Al-Quds, the return of Palestinian refugees, and Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories. Peace on the Syrian-Israeli front would be achieved only by a complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Golan Heights. Israel should also withdraw from Lebanon. All Security Council resolutions concerning Iraq should be implemented. That regime had arrogated the right, on the basis of sovereignty, to starve and abuse its people and subject Iraq to dangers which threatened its unity and security. It falsely blamed the international community for the dangers and tragedies to which Iraq and its people had become subject. While the principles and objectives of human rights were universal in nature, their application must take into consideration the diversity of societies and their historical, cultural and religious backgrounds and legal systems.

SINGAPORE

Foreign Minister Wong Kan Seng said that there should be a "level playing field" with regard to all present and future members of a possible expanded Security Council. Anachronistic references to "enemy States" in the UN Charter should be removed. Suggestions regarding a different set of permanent members without veto were impractical. No country capable of making a contribution as a new permanent member would accept such second class status for long. It would only undermine the principle of great Power cooperation, without which the Council could not function. If permanent membership was expanded, at least two vetoes should be required to block a resolution. A UN perennially on the brink of financial insolvency could not meet the challenges of the next century. A permanent member should carry a larger portion of the UN's financial burden. The Council could not be effective "without a sword that is sharp and ready".

THE NATIONS SPEAK

SOLOMON ISLANDS

Francis Saemala, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, supported the aspirations of the people of New Caledonia, including the Kanak community, and noted the progress of the Matignon Accords. "While sensitive to the varying and conflicting interpretations and expectations", it felt that all parties should maintain their commitment to that process. The South Pacific region should stay a nuclear-free zone, free of all types of radioactive waste. The new Solomon Islands Government, through its six-point initiative, was working constructively with its neighbour, Papua New Guinea, to find a lasting peaceful solution to their border problems. Fisheries was the major economy of Solomon Islands, which supported the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. It appealed to distant-water fishing nations to cooperate with the management and conservation measures stipulated by the Forum Fisheries Agency. Small island States shared unique limitations, which underscored the need for sustainable management of resources.

SRI LANKA

Foreign Minister Shahul Hameed said the search for a political solution in Sri Lanka continued. "In the thick of the conflict, we have maintained the flow of food, medical and other supplies and services, such as education and health, to the affected areas." The uncontrolled movement of arms to "extremist fringe groups" threatened to destabilize small countries. In 1971, Sri Lanka had proposed the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The world scene had since changed and the time had come to examine new, alternative approaches. Another Sri Lankan initiative was the Indian Ocean Marine Affairs Conference, to develop the region's marine resources. With regard to national disputes, UN intervention must be considered only on request of the Member State concerned. Indigenous peace efforts must be encouraged. Sri Lanka favoured creating a border disputes commission, to deal with that obstacle to regional unity.

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

Foreign Minister Farouk Al-Shara said: "Those who are trying to make people believe that the Middle East has suddenly been transformed into an oasis of peace and prosperity know better than anyone that peace, stability and prosperity cannot possibly coexist with occupation, arrogance and the denial of the rights of others." Israel should stop misleading world opinion by portraying itself as a victim. Syria would not give up an inch of its occupied territories. "We have the right to wonder about the reasons behind the ongoing unjust campaign against the Arabs and Muslims, who are slandered merely because some individuals have allegedly committed a terrorist act against Western targets, while not a word is uttered against those who are truly responsible for terrorist acts against thousands of Arab victims both in the occupied territories and southern Lebanon." The time had come for "an awakening of the Western conscience". In today's international scene "we see little construction and few new breakthroughs; we see many ruins, much chaos and numerous unanswered questions".

TAJIKISTAN

Emomali Rakhmonov, Head of State and Chairman of the Supreme Council, said Tajikistan had gone through the horrors of a civil war. "We are determined to carry out democratic transformations in our country and to acknowledge and respect philosophical, religious, ideological and political choice as an inalienable right of the individual. . . . We are prepared for dialogue with all the social forces in our country to achieve national reconciliation, civil harmony and stability in Tajikistan." Work was continuing on election laws and a new Constitution, with maximum attention to protect human rights. He was concerned over attempts at regionalization of the internal conflict in Tajikistan. Tajikistan was "not hatching any hostile plan" with regard to Afghanistan and was encouraged by the notable speed-up in the negotiating process. By the middle of September, more than 35,000 Tajik refugees—more than half the total—had returned home from Afghanistan, he said.

THAILAND

Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai said that, with the end of the cold war, a new spirit of friendly cooperation prevailed in South-East Asia. For the first time in recent memory, the region was free of major armed conflict. With the return of peace and normality to Cambodia, Thailand was confident that the country would resume its rightful place in the South-East Asian family of nations. With cold-war constraints on UN regional intervention removed, the Organization was in an ideal position to cooperate with ASEAN to ensure peace and stability in South-East Asia. The foundation for such cooperation already existed. These countries of South-East Asia were forging economic links through "special economic zones" and "growth triangles", which would promote friendship and cooperation in the region and provide a nucleus for greater interaction with other parts of the world.

TURKMENISTAN

Deputy Prime Minister Boris O. Shihmuradov said Turkmenistan intended to eliminate all its nuclear weapons and would continue its support for the NPT, the chemical weapons Convention, and the bacteriological (biological) weapons Convention. In a new pact with Iran, the 1,500-kilometre border between the two countries would be transformed into a border of peace and cooperation. Turkmenistan also had a political dialogue with Afghanistan and with the authorities of the northern and north-western provinces, signing recently a three-party memorandum on construction of a railroad from Turkmenistan to Pakistan through Afghanistan, providing an outlet to the Indian Ocean. Turkmenistan supported Russia's efforts to establish order and conditions for the active continuation of political reforms and the full dismantling of the totalitarian system and its replacement with a system chosen by the people. Turkmenistan's geopolitical situation enabled it to bridge the gap between two major regions.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Foreign Minister Rashid Abdullah Al-Noaimi wanted a direct dialogue with Iran with regard to Iran's occupation in 1971 of the Emirate's three islands—Greater Tunb, Lesser Tunb and Abu Musa. He appealed to Iran to return the islands. The Iraqi regime still procrastinated regarding implementation of relevant Security Council resolutions. His country welcomed the Declaration of Principles between the PLO and Israel as a positive first step towards a comprehensive settlement, to enable Palestinians to exercise their inalienable rights. In restructuring the Security Council, the principle of equitable geographical representation of all regional groups should be taken into consideration, to reflect the transformations in the international political arena. Peacemaking and peace-keeping operations at regional and international levels should take account of historical, geographical, political, social and cultural characteristics of each State.

UZBEKISTAN

President Islam Karimov said his country was concerned at the continued conflict in Tajikistan and on the Tajik-Afghan border. Uzbekistan favoured the total abolition of nuclear weapons and wanted Central Asia as a nuclear-free zone. It would welcome the establishment by the UN of a regional commission to coordinate efforts against the "narcobusiness". A special group under the Security Council could analyse and forecast emerging international conflicts for rapid preparation of recommendations for the Council and other UN bodies. The Council should "adequately reflect the socio-economic, ethno-cultural, religious and spiritual diversity of today's world". Its currently conservative structure should be reconsidered. The UN should be "the world's principal tool for the prevention of new hotbeds of confrontation which could jeopardize human progress". Uzbekistan favoured greater UN involvement in preventing global ecological disasters, and aid to save the Aral Sea. The world's nations were on the "threshold of a new millenium". Uzbekistan was convinced that there was "no alternative to peace, cooperation and universal security".

VIET NAM

Deputy Prime Minister Phan Van Khai said progress towards restoration of peace in a number of places, especially in Cambodia and the Middle East, demonstrated that, through peaceful negotiations, conflicts, once fierce and protracted, could be settled. Cambodia and the UN should take effective measures to protect Vietnamese residents living peacefully in Cambodia and ensure their safety. Member States should have a say in determining the objectives and guiding principles for decisions undertaken by the Security Council with regard to international peace and security. Only by so doing could the UN truly be a universal Organization and a common instrument for the community of nation-States. The UN should reform its organization and mode of operation to "ensure democracy, justice and equality for all Member States". Using imposed standards of human rights and democracy as preconditions for inter-State cooperation was a manifestation of inequality in international relations.

YEMEN

Foreign Minister Mohamed Salem Basendwah said the PLO-Israel agreement would not bring peace unless significant steps were taken at the levels of other Arab-Israeli negotiating tracks. Yemen hoped that the role played by the two co-sponsors of the Arab-Israeli negotiations would prompt Israel to "abandon the policy of force and arrogance which it has pursued out of its feelings of military superiority, and because of the international support and protection it has always enjoyed, as well as the special treatment extended to it by the Western Powers". The blockade against Iraq was no longer justified. Iraqis' suffering had "reached an intolerable level". Yemen did not believe that the international community was "prepared to accept the death of innocent women, children and old people". Kuwait's sovereignty, independence and security could not be guaranteed indefinitely by dependence on international protection alone, but must have a solid basis in "sound and equitable relations" between Kuwait and Iraq.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

ALBANIA

Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi said that his country—led by "people possessed of new aspirations, ideologies and ideas"—was in the process of an overall democratic restructuring. Economic reform was also occurring, aimed at a "total restructuring of a closed and inefficient economy on the path to a free and open market economy". Positive results included increasing agricultural production by 25 per cent through land privatization; establishing a fixed exchange rate; and lowering inflation from 15 per cent monthly in 1992 to 0.9 per cent in March 1993. A "broad democratic space" should be created all over the Balkans to allow, among other things, freedom of communication and movement for the more than 7 million Albanians who lived in that space. Placing Kosovo under UN protection and control was the only guaranteed way of preventing conflict from spreading. Preventive deployment was fully justified, because of the threat that the "outbreak of an intra-Balkan armed conflict would pose to international peace and security".

ARMENIA

Foreign Minister Vahan Papazian said that his "small, land-locked, newly independent country of 3.5 million" was the only democracy in the region—an "island of stability in a sea of political chaos and turmoil". The conflict between the people of Nagorny-Karabakh, who were striving for self-determination, and the Azerbaijani Government, which was refusing to address the people's rights and concerns, continued to threaten the security and stability of the whole region. It had claimed over 10,000 lives and caused "close to a million innocent people to be uprooted from their homes during the past five years". As an interested party, his country saw "no alternative to the peaceful settlement of the Karabakh conflict", which could be reached within the Minsk Conference of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Once peace was established, legal questions—first and foremost, the status of Nagorny-Karabakh—could be negotiated.

AZERBAIJAN

Yashar Aliyev, Permanent Representative to the UN, said his country had "fallen victim" to an "undeclared war" being waged against it for six years by Armenia, which sought to "fulfil its territorial claims". The sad results of that aggression were that 20 per cent of Azerbaijan's territory was occupied by Armenian troops, and 1 million civilians had no homes or means of survival. Economic infrastructure and unique historical and cultural sites had been destroyed. His country hailed the efforts of the international community to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The Minsk Conference should be preceded by the complete liberation of Azerbaijan's occupied territories.

BELARUS

Foreign Minister Pyotr K. Kravchanka said his country was one of the four States that had inherited the strategic nuclear potential of the former Soviet Union, but it had "renounced the prestige of a nuclear State" and had chosen non-nuclear status. In 1992, it had been the first to remove tactical nuclear weapons from its territory. Having put forward in 1990 the idea of creating a "non-nuclear belt" from the Baltic to the Black Sea, Belarus had been transforming its territory into a part of such a belt. Although it did not manufacture battle tanks, it had "more tanks per capita than any other European State". His country was making an enormous contribution to strengthening regional and international security by destroying the weapons of what had been the "most powerful military tank district" in the former Soviet Union. Chernobyl—the "most terrible nuclear disaster"—had resulted in the growth of cancer, especially among children, and considerable "social and psychological stress".

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

President Alija Izetbegovic stated that an "impending humanitarian tragedy" was unfolding in his country, and it was "no longer possible to speak of non-intervention". The UN must either follow through with its intervention or decide to rescind it. A mediation team should include a representative of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which would most likely be "the agent of enforcement". The proposed partition was unfair, since it sought to "satisfy the aggressor's appetite for an inequitably large share at the expense of the victim". He wanted "minimal adjustments" to recent peace proposals: that a Bosnian republic within a Union of the Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina be "viable geographically, economically, politically and defensively"; that "aggressor forces" surrender control of territories seized so that Bosnians could return to their homes; that enforcement of a settlement be guaranteed; and that if the international community could not implement the peace plan, his country be allowed to defend itself.

BULGARIA

President Zhelyu Zhelev said that by virtue of its geopolitical situation, his country, which shared the longest land border with Serbia, had a key role in implementing economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. Without Bulgaria, the sanctions would be "doomed to failure". The embargo had closed Bulgaria's direct route to Western European markets. Losses from sanctions

against the former Yugoslavia, Iraq and Libya were equal to one half of Bulgaria's external debt to commercial creditor banks, and dimmed the prospects for economic recovery. Compensation to Member States suffering from sanctions should be arranged. An active participant in the European organizations, Bulgaria would be the first post-Communist country to assume the presidency of the Committee of Ministers of the oldest European organization—the Council of Europe.

CROATIA

President Franjo Tudjman called the crisis in the former Yugoslavia the "most difficult" in the world today. The UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Croatia had been "misused by the Serbian extremist insurgents and their promoters, the Belgrade expansionists, to freeze territorial gains, continue 'ethnic cleansing', and consolidate occupation". His country had shown "extreme patience" regarding settling the conflict with the Serbian minority, but could not "tolerate indefinitely the occupation of its territories, the pressure of the hundreds of thousands of displaced persons from Croatian areas, and a situation in which the State is split". It could no longer be forced to accept the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate if its mission was not specified in "more resolute terms", and if the Serbs were not given an "ultimatum" to implement the peace plan. The Croats in Bosnia had made "major concessions for the sake of peace". For strategic, political and psychological reasons, the Croatian side could not agree to any further concessions.

CZECH REPUBLIC

Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec said that "not a single window pane" had been broken during the division of the former Czechoslovakia. It made him believe that "good will and common sense can lead to peaceful settlements, even of problems traditionally accompanied by violence". His country had also gained "priceless experience" in solving the problems resulting from the "disintegration of the totalitarian world". That was why it had sought non-permanent membership in the Security Council. The Czech Republic was managing the process of economic transformation without asking for direct financial assistance. It did not want to "siphon off scarce development resources" from countries whose situation was much worse. It shared in the work of the UN, supplying personnel for many missions, among other contributions. That demonstrated his country's "tradition of service to the international community, a tradition of shouldering our fair share of the international burden".

ESTONIA

President Lennart Meri said the Second World War was still continuing in his country in a "rather peculiar way", because the foreign armed forces which had occupied Estonia in 1940 still remained there. Estonia had for two years patiently conducted negotiations, but "without positive results". Two arguments had been used in "stalling and detouring" negotiations—one was the lack of housing for withdrawn forces. His country was ready to assist in solving that "essentially humanitarian problem". The second argument was "in a curious way linked to human rights"—that troops were needed for the defence of human rights of Russians residing in the Baltic States. However, Russian residents of Estonia had "never supported this argument", since they had not wished to "become pawns in a political game". His country could not and would never accept the "division by 15 of the financial commitments of the former Soviet Union" to the UN, as Estonia was "never legally part" of the former Soviet Union.

HUNGARY

Foreign Minister Géza Jeszenszky said that his country wanted to see "democracy, prosperity, security and the institutions"—such as the Council of Europe, the European Community and NATO—"gradually expand eastward". There was also a long-overdue need for a review of UN Charter provisions that implied a distinction between UN Member States "on the basis of their status of signatory or enemy State". On the eve of the UN's fiftieth anniversary, the elimination of that "obsolete distinction" would be "more than a gesture" towards a number of countries that had fully proved their commitment to Charter principles. Of particular concern was the situation of the Hungarian community in Vojvodina—a formerly autonomous province. "Successive waves of intimidation and discrimination" there had already "significantly reduced both the size and the proportion of the Hungarian minority". There continued to be a "constant threat of a further massive influx of refugees" into Hungary. Adequate international protection had to be sought for other ethnic communities and minorities in the former Yugoslavia.

LATVIA

President Guntis Ulmanis said that since his country had declared independence 75 years ago—on 18 November 1918—it was "not a newly independent State". It still had to deal with the continuing presence of the former Soviet Union's military forces on its territory, and the Russian demand to "maintain three bases in Latvia": the radar station in Skrunda, the cosmic intelligence centre in Ventspils and the naval base in Liepaja. Latvia could not permit its soil to be "used for purposes that may be directed against third countries". Due to the current situation, foreign investment in Latvia had been "discouraged". An

agreement on complete withdrawal would open a "new chapter" in the relationship between these two States. No other country had lost, as a result of occupation and colonialism, such a large part of its indigenous population during modern times. Restoration of independence had given Latvia the opportunity to improve its demographic situation. But its "historical minorities"—Russians, Belorussians, Poles, Jews and others—had their own schools and active national cultural societies, which helped maintain each group's national identity.

LITHUANIA

President Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas said that his country was "seeking its place on the new map of Europe" and hoped for closer cooperation between the countries of the Baltic Sea region. It welcomed the gradual demilitarization of the Kaliningrad region and the development of a free trade zone there. After the 31 August withdrawal of Russian troops from the Lithuanian territory, a fresh page had been turned in the relations between the Russian Federation and Lithuania. But the issue of compensation for damage inflicted during the occupation was still on the agenda. Greater and more effective assistance for democratic forces in post-communist States would "help decisively to rid the world of the remnants of totalitarianism and dictatorship". While regional interaction was broadening and the international organizations' role was being extended, large and powerful nations should not transform regional structures into "instruments of domination". He suggested a meeting of all Heads of States of post-communist countries to discuss "how to recover more quickly from the maladies of national egoism and ethnocentricity" that might be unavoidable in young States and fragile democracies.

POLAND

Foreign Minister Krzystof Skubiszewski said that the fate of countries in transition, not only in Central and Eastern Europe, but also on other continents, was not their problem alone, as their success or failure was "unavoidably going to exert a strong impact on other States". The world community should not fail to back up the transformation process and to "assist the new democracies in their continuing efforts to achieve reform, economic recovery, social progress and full participation in international exchanges". Individuals needed "better and easier access" to international protection of their rights and freedoms. Among new human rights mechanisms could be a small bureau in Warsaw—part of the UN Geneva office—to monitor human rights in Eastern Europe. A significant source of tensions and conflicts was the "growing gap between rich and poor nations". Even Europe had not been spared, threatened by the "emergence of a new 'curtain', this one economic".

REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

Foreign Minister Nicolae Anton Tău said the presence of foreign military forces was the "principal source of insecurity and instability" for his country. The "huge amounts of military hardware and enormous weapons stockpiles" in Transdniestra could "easily be taken over by separatist forces". The "high degree of politicization" of the occupying forces and their support for the anti-constitutional regime in Transdniestra were the "main threats to the independence, integrity and security" of Moldova. Those efforts were aimed at "continuing and justifying" Russia's military presence in independent and sovereign UN Member States. Russia's final goal was obviously the "revival of the old imperial structures with the blessing of the international community". The active participation of Transdniestrian fighters in the recent Moscow rebellion had been a "logical consequence of the close ties between the Tiraspol leadership and the reactionary Russian parliament".

ROMANIA

Teodor Viorel Melescanu, Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said his country's economy still faced "some major difficulties, inherent in the transition period". Also, "unfavourable external circumstances"—such as reduction in economic cooperation with neighbouring countries and the adverse effects of UN sanctions against Iraq, Libya and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—had triggered a dramatic fall in important economic sectors. In spite of "undeniable difficulties", there was "no turning back". Romania would respect and follow the "irreversible choice" of its people to "join the family of democratic nations". Unfortunately, "no progress whatsoever" had been made towards the political solution of the conflict in the eastern region of Moldova. Moreover, there was a "strange situation" in which the commander-in-chief of the 14th Russian army—a foreign army on the national soil of an independent country "without the consent" of that UN Member State—had been "recently 'elected' as a member of the so-called local parliament". Withdrawal of foreign troops was the key to the solution of the Transdniestra conflict.

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev said that developments in the former Yugoslavia, Abkhazia and Karabakh had revealed the "true depths of barbarism and the significant new threat of aggressive nationalism". It was "no less serious a threat to peace today

than nuclear war was yesterday". His country had made peacemaking and the protection of human rights, particularly those of national minorities, the priority of its foreign policy—"first and foremost in the territory of the former USSR". It would spare no effort to strengthen the Commonwealth of Independent States and make it a "positive factor, not only regionally, but globally". Russia's peacemaking efforts were already yielding their first results with: no new hostilities in the Transdniestera region and South Ossetia; a national dialogue in Tajikistan; and active efforts to end the Abkhazian and Karabakh conflicts. All those problems were "too serious and too tragic for speculation about neo-imperial plans of Russia, diplomatic rivalry, or the search for new spheres of influence by neighbouring and distant Powers". His country proposed the imposition of international legal restrictions on the use in internal conflicts of the "most destructive and indiscriminate types of weapons", primarily military aircraft and artillery-rocket systems. Russia favoured transforming the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty into a "universal agreement of unlimited duration", and wanted strict compliance with the Chemical Weapons Convention.

SLOVAKIA

Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik said that reform measures had so far "not brought the expected economic revival". Difficulties were aggravated by the conversion of the armaments industry, which reduced military production to an "unprecedented 9 per cent of the 1989 level". That political decision to "close a whole major branch of Slovak industry without the necessary preparation for a real conversion", though highly moral, had not taken into account economic and social consequences. Slovakia was among the countries most severely afflicted by Security Council sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Slovakia, a member of 54 international organizations, wanted the "fastest possible integration, together with other countries of the Visegrad Four", in the European Community, NATO and the Western European Union, and membership in the Conference on Disarmament.

SLOVENIA

Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek said that together with other countries, either newly founded or which had "disengaged themselves from the shackles of limited sovereignty", Slovenia was not only an object of those changes, but a "protagonist in them". Europe should be able to "fill the security vacuum with democratic, forward-looking and adequate security arrangements for all"—more so since it was the first time that security was not bound to increased defence spending. Existing security associations—such as NATO, the CSCE and the Western European Union—should be systematically extended, and there should be coordination between them and the UN. During the last two years, his country had "radically and unilaterally restricted its own military potential". Despite its proximity to the regions of armed conflict in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, his country had not been "directly involved". Nevertheless, there were 70,000 refugees in Slovenia.

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

President Kiro Gligorov was vitally interested in seeing an end to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The decision to accept an UNPROFOR contingent demonstrated the "enormous advantages of preventive diplomacy". UNPROFOR's presence had "greatly increased the feelings of security and trust" in UN peace-keeping activities on the part of his country's citizens. Peace and cooperation in the Balkans was his country's "permanent interest". Its efforts were aimed at establishing good relations with all its neighbours and at resolving "all existing problems with our southern neighbour". The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was a European country in transition, a landlocked country, a "country of transit and a developing country". As a result of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, which his country strictly observed, its gross national product had been "cut in half". His country's survival, democracy and economic development were "fundamentally dependent" on assistance from the international community.

UKRAINE

Foreign Minister Anatoly Zlenko said that after the disintegration of the USSR and the disappearance of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, his country was "compelled to exist next to a zone of decreased stability and of alienation and even tension". The declaration on the State sovereignty of Ukraine had proclaimed the intention of the State to "become non-nuclear in the future". Ukraine needed some $2.8 billion to dismantle and eliminate its "huge nuclear arsenal, the third largest in the world in terms of its combat potential". It also wanted the return of "nuclear components, obtained from nuclear warheads" which, after reprocessing, could be "used as fuel for nuclear power stations", and of nuclear materials extracted from the warheads of tactical missiles removed from Ukraine in 1992. Finally, thousands of servicemen dismissed from the missile forces would have to be employed. His country was experiencing serious economic difficulties, compounded by losses due to Security Council sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

AUSTRALIA

Gareth Evans, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, called attention to an Australian study—*Cooperating for Peace*—suggesting that in defining criteria for embarking on peace operations, there should be clear and achievable goals, adequate resources, close coordination with other ongoing peacemaking activities, impartiality between the parties who have been in conflict, and a clearly designated termination point. The study supported "cooperative security" which emphasized reassurance rather than deterrence; was inclusive rather than exclusive; favoured multilateralism over unilateralism or bilateralism; and stressed the "value of creating habits of dialogue". With regard to UN reform, the Secretary-General should have an effective chain of command; the UN's critical funding problem must be resolved once and for all; and special attention should be paid to the machinery of preventive diplomacy.

AUSTRIA

Alois Mock, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action represented an "important advance in the protection of human rights—all human rights—worldwide". But in the Balkans, the most serious human rights violations continued to be the "order of the day". His country was providing humanitarian relief and, with a population of 7 million, was also now hosting 70,000 refugees. The autonomy of the German-speaking and Ladin population of South Tyrol appeared to be effective, although certain issues remained unresolved. Since 1988, his country had sent troops, military observers, police or civilian experts to 12 of the new UN operations, and had recently set up a training centre for civilian peace-keeping and peace-building.

BELGIUM

Willy Claes, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, stressed that in order for the UN to meet the challenges of the future effectively, all Member States must pay their contributions fully and in a timely manner. It was regrettable that certain defaulting countries laid "claim to a privileged role" in the Organization's debates and decisions. The European Community had been inspired by a "profound desire for peacemaking and reconstruction". Regional integration could help "contain the collective frustrations and anxieties that fuel nationalist movements", and provide a "formidable incentive" for economic growth and a "strategic element in combating poverty". By uniting to form centres of stability and progress, participating countries "gradually free themselves of the mounting problems and crises which, at this time of tremendous change, tend to be more than they can cope with on their own".

CANADA

Prime Minister Kim Campbell said that since UN peace-keeping had been "invented in 1956 by Lester Pearson", her country had fielded almost 10,000 men and women in UN operations "in every corner of the world". Although costly, that contribution had been a "symbol of pride to most Canadians, a tangible expression of our national quest for a better world". Today, her country was providing "just under 4 per cent" of all UN forces. Recent peace-keeping operations had also revealed a "number of shortcomings". Major operations could no longer be run on an ad hoc basis—a "permanent strategic headquarters staff capable of controlling two or more large-scale, multidimensional operations" had to be put in place. Also, UN ability to provide "matériel and personnel speedily to a theatre of operations" had to be strengthened.

DENMARK

Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen stressed that Security Council membership should reflect the "situation of today", and developing countries had a "case for improving their representation" in that body. He favoured creation of a post of high commissioner for human rights. There were times when the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a Member State "must yield to a decision by the international community to secure respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms such as freedom from hunger and protection from genocide". The UN must respond effectively to the economic and social needs of developing countries, as there could be "no lasting peace and security unless the growing inequalities are addressed". Social peace was "as important as strategic peace", and the World Summit for Social Development it would host was an "opportunity to put people at the centre of development".

FINLAND

Foreign Minister Heikki Haavisto said the UN must adopt stricter and clearer criteria and procedures before launching peace-keeping operations. The UN "must not overextend itself"; it could not be "present everywhere". Mandates must be precise and clear, the necessary funding must be secured and, before launching an operation, the Security Council "must see to it that the

required contingents are available". One might ask whether a full-fledged General Assembly session every year was really necessary and productive. Alternatively, a "high-level political debate" and meetings of the Main Committees might be held every other year. The Nordic countries had initiated a reform of the UN operational activities for development. The "extraordinary extent and rapidity" of economic and social change, as well as the challenges of the global environment, necessitated reforms that were "even much more profound".

FRANCE

Foreign Minister Alain Juppé said that his country had "spared no effort" to put an end to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

It provided an essential part of the humanitarian aid sent there, and its soldiers represented the largest of the contingents in the UN Protection Force. The enlargement of the Security Council must not be achieved "at the expense of one or another group of States"—it must preserve the capacity of the developing countries to "make their voices heard". On the other hand, a projected enlargement should not lead to a "paralysis of the Council". One could not "simultaneously speak" of UN reform, justice and international development and "exempt oneself from the primary financial obligation". It was "high time to measure the generosity of words against the yardstick of arrears due".

GERMANY

Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel said that over the last four years, Germany had made a "greater financial effort than any other nation" to help the reformist countries in Eastern Europe on their road to democracy, the rule of law and a free market economy. His country was "engaged in a passionate debate over proposed constitutional amendments" to enable Germany to participate in all UN operations without restriction. However, the use of military means should be considered only if there was a "clear political blueprint" for resolving the conflict; "force must always be the last resort". Consequently, Germany's contribution to the UN would continue to be of a "mainly political and economic nature". Germany was prepared to assume responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council, but wanted the Council to continue to consider the "growing importance of the third world" in any reform process.

GREECE

Foreign Minister Michael Papaconstantinou proposed a UN summit to adopt a "global agenda for the twenty-first century", to be held in Greece in January 2000. Its theme could be: "Partners for a Better World: On the Threshold of the Twenty-first Century". Since his country was the "cradle of the democracy that humanity as a whole now enjoys", it was the right place to hold such a conference. Cyprus remained divided, with 30,000 Turkish troops occupying 38 per cent of the Republic. In addition, "thousands of settlers from the mainland" had "upset the demographic balance of the population". His country was concerned over a "complete lack of progress towards a solution of the Cyprus problem" during 1993 because of the "unwillingness of the Turkish Cypriot leadership to engage in meaningful negotiations". Greece wanted a negotiated overall settlement in the former Yugoslavia. It urged Albania to grant fundamental rights to the Greek minority.

ICELAND

Jón Baldvin Hannibalsson, Minister for Foreign Affairs and External Trade, said that Agenda 21, while providing a "sound basis" for sustainable development, did not cover all harmful acts, including pollution of the marine environment from land-based activities and depletion of marine living resources in many parts of the world. At the UN Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks, Iceland had submitted a draft convention calling for increased regional cooperation in establishing conservation and management measures for those fish stocks and enforcement mechanisms. As a nation "overwhelmingly dependent on marine living resources", his country also supported an "international regime to govern all aspects of the uses of the oceans". Iceland strongly supported transforming the Rio Declaration into an "Earth Charter" before the fiftieth anniversary of the UN.

IRELAND

Dick Spring, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said his country currently participated in 10 UN peacekeeping operations. Multi-faceted UN operations should be carried out in an "effective, transparent and humane" manner. The UN needed an effective military planning unit to ensure that the best military advice and information was available to the Secretary-General. His country had proposed a UN "code of conduct for conventional arms transfers", to encourage responsibility and restraint. Northern Ireland was a challenge to the British and Irish Governments. The conflict, while complex, was not "fundamentally incapable of resolution". The pieces of the jigsaw

puzzle were "all to hand if only we can find the right way to fit them together". What was needed was a "collective will to rise above traditional suspicions and animosities and a readiness to look beyond areas of disagreement to areas where we can work together to mutual advantage".

ITALY

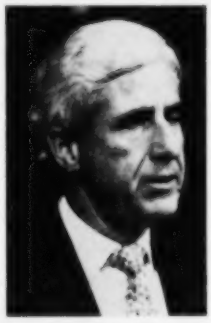
Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta said that peace-keeping, peace-enforcement and humanitarian relief missions took place "in the midst of conflicts with complex political causes, and tangled ethnic and national roots". In that environment, the unity of military command was an "unquestionable principle, without which no operation could succeed". Somalia was a situation characterized by the "standstill in the political process". The UN should step up its political efforts by appointing a "personality of great international prestige" to renew the political and diplomatic initiative with all Somali factions. African nations should be involved in the "normalization in Somalia". Since the Security Council was moving towards a "future of greater burdens and responsibilities", Italy suggested that, in addition to the permanent and non-permanent members, a third category—"semi-permanent members", to "rotate two at a time"—be established.

LIECHTENSTEIN

Prince Hans-Adam II believed that a basis for some solutions to today's many ethnic and national conflicts could be found "within the principle of self-determination", a value that had been "fully demonstrated in the traditional context of decolonization". Allowing communities within States to have "different levels of autonomy" according to the particular circumstances could "defuse many of the tensions which are such a potent source of conflict". Such principles might be elaborated in a convention "of general application". To make further progress, his country inscribed an item on the Assembly agenda on "Right of peoples to self-determination: Effective realization of the right to self-determination through autonomy". The ongoing discussion of equitable representation on and expansion of the Security Council was "timely and necessary" in light of the growth in UN membership.

LUXEMBOURG

Jacques F. Poos, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, External Trade and Cooperation, said that nationalism was "not in and of itself evil", but a "logical manifestation" of pride and self-confidence expressed after "long years of oppression". Once that "regained pride" was transformed into "open hostility towards everything that is different", then nationalism carried within itself the "seeds of grave danger". Extreme nationalism could be "seen in many places", but in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, it had found its "most intolerable expression". Even in Western Europe, it could be seen in the "resurgence of racist and xenophobic incidents". Extreme nationalism was a "threat to the international order". Education with regard to tolerance should be renewed; and legal protection for minorities must be ensured. No lasting peace was possible while peoples were subjected to abject poverty and famine, having "no hope for progress towards greater justice and equality".

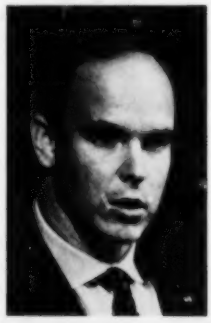


MALTA

Guido de Marco, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that the Helsinki Summit II endorsed his country's proposal that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) "declare itself the regional arrangement in the sense of Chapter VIII of the Charter". Through similar arrangements at the regional level, peace-keeping operations could be more efficiently and economically dealt with by countries which, because of their regional obligations, could assume further responsibilities. Malta consistently defined its objective of becoming a member of the European Community as a "logical and natural culmination of our European vocation". The Mediterranean was a "region suffering the turmoil of problems in its midst". Malta supported a conference on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean, and proposed a council for the Mediterranean as a forum for political, economic and social dialogue for the region.

MONACO

Crown Prince Albert conveyed the "tremendous joy" of all Monégasques and inhabitants of the Principality of Monaco at his country's joining "this great world Organization". His country's commitment to peace was a "tradition of more than 100 years—a tradition observed by its Princes", whose dynasty would "shortly celebrate its 700th anniversary". His country—in full respect for the rule of law in domestic affairs and for "treaties and law in the international order", having "neither armed forces nor military arsenals", and bearing "no enmity to anyone at all"—was fully prepared to assist the UN in all its actions, undertaken "sometimes with great difficulty", aimed at maintaining and rebuilding peace. Monaco also set for itself the "priority of protecting our environment", both natural and cultural, so that it might provide a "healthy, enriching and balanced life for all".



WESTERN EUROPE & OTHER STATES

NETHERLANDS

Foreign Minister Pieter Hendrik Kooijmans was proud to host the International War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague. It also welcomed the formation of the "stand-by forces planning team", to draw up an inventory of rapid deployment of peace-keeping forces. The UN should take a "long, hard look" at its own management structure. "Management by objectives, transparency and accountability"—those key phrases must become "household words" in the UN vocabulary. The "painful paradox" was that the Secretariat's "relative success at shoestring budgeting" seemed to "contribute to a further deterioration in payment discipline" among Member States. The UN did "not serve an à la carte menu: dissatisfaction should be voiced in debate and by force of argument, not by withholding assessed contributions".

NEW ZEALAND

Donald Charles McKinnon, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, said that the breakdown of the bipolar world order had some unexpected consequences—"some would liken the result to taking the lid off a pressure-cooker". Conflicts seemed to have "burst out everywhere", and in human terms those consequences were "horrific". The UN was becoming more and more involved, and recent peace-keeping operations had highlighted the risks to UN personnel. His Government wanted all possible measures to ensure the safety of UN staff. New Zealand had made special provision for refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Somalia and Cambodia. It had one of the highest per capita resettlement ratios in the world. But that was "addressing the symptoms, not the cause". The ultimate objective must be to create or recreate conditions that allowed refugees to "return in safety and dignity to their own homes and homelands".

NORWAY

Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland fully supported the efforts of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. As a major provider of humanitarian assistance to the area, Norway believed that although international attention was focused on the "terrible ordeal of the Muslims", there were also Croats and Serbs who suffered greatly as well. Coordination and cooperation between UN peace-keeping operations, humanitarian agencies and non-governmental humanitarian organizations must improve. Norway favoured convening a conference to improve "our capacity to organize real peace operations incorporating both humanitarian and military tasks". A unified UN peace-keeping budget must be introduced. As the eighth-largest contributor to the UN system in absolute terms and "by far the largest in per capita terms", Norway found it "exceedingly difficult to understand how so many countries fail to honour their obligations".

PORTUGAL

Foreign Minister José Manuel Durao Barroso said that five African countries officially used Portugese, and his Government had "steadily deepened" its ties with them in all areas. Based on a common culture and values, his country was also developing, together with Brazil and those African States, a "true community of Portugese-speaking nations" characterized by "solidarity and tolerance". In Angola, dialogue between the Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) was the only way to bring about a "lasting solution and a durable peace". Portugal was deeply involved in the Mozambique peace process—not only by active contributions to the UN operation there, but also by participation in structures created by the General Peace Agreement. It accepted in full the relevant UN resolutions on East Timor, which rejected "military conquest as the basis for claiming territorial enlargement", and clearly established the need to respect East Timor's territorial integrity and the right to self-determination.

SAN MARINO

Gabriele Gatti, Secretary of State for Foreign and Political Affairs, said that his people were particularly concerned with minorities, their inalienable right to free existence and well-balanced development, respect for their cultures and religions, and the real exercise of those rights "under the same conditions enjoyed by the majorities". Because San Marino had a "numerically small population", history had taught it to "offer hospitality and express solidarity with the weak, the oppressed and the victims of persecution". Freedom must be based on a "complex system of limits so that no man, in the exercise of his rights, can ride roughshod over the rights of another". The recourse to force, even when it seemed "indispensable to maintain or restore democracy", was "an unfair and dangerous option". Europe was "plagued by conflicts" that offended peoples, minorities, women, children and the poor. The UN had the ability, the authority and the structures to prevent and solve conflicts, manage crises and maintain peace.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

SPAIN

Foreign Minister Javier Solana Madariaga said the question of the "decolonization of Gibraltar" was of fundamental importance to Spain, which was firmly determined to continue negotiations with the United Kingdom in a "constructive spirit and on the basis of the Brussels Declaration of 27 November 1984". Those negotiations should duly take into account the legitimate interests of the population, based on the doctrine established by the General Assembly that the decolonization of Gibraltar was "not a case of self-determination but of the restoration of the territorial integrity of Spain". He fully supported UN efforts to solve the outstanding problems of Western Sahara. A referendum would "pave the way for the climate of understanding and cooperation" to deal with challenges in the region. The third Ibero-American Summit, held in Brazil in July 1993, had stressed the growing interrelationship among the concepts of development, democracy and human rights.

SWEDEN

Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas said the need for reform in the peace-keeping area was undisputed. The world community should "react flexibly to dynamic situations". Member States should provide personnel and equipment on a stand-by basis for use at short notice. Improved coordination was needed between peace-keeping operations and humanitarian relief efforts, as they were increasingly interrelated. "Scarce resources should not be wasted on activities lacking well-defined goals." Flagrant abuse of human rights was "still a tragic reality for millions of people in many parts of the world". All States had a duty to adhere to the international human rights conventions. The establishment of a high commissioner for human rights would enhance the capacity of the international system to "deal more directly with emergencies and grave violations".

TURKEY

Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin said that neither in the Balkans nor in the Caucasus, nor anywhere else, would his country "accept the acquisition of territory by force". The "sinister success of Serbian expansionism in Bosnia" had "emboldened aggressors elsewhere", and a similar tragedy was occurring in the Caucasus. With regard to Cyprus, the "common desire and purpose" of the international community was to promote an early and comprehensive solution. Whatever the reasons that might still divide the two sides, the "negotiating process must continue". All concerned must "display realism and act with vision in search of a negotiated, durable solution". Once the "general elections in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" were over, the Turkish Cypriot side would "again be able to continue to play its constructive role in the negotiating process".

UNITED KINGDOM

Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, said that never had there been a time when the UN had been "so discussed, so misunderstood, so needed". If the world community wanted the UN to work better, it should give the Secretary-General the support he needed "in thoughts, words, deeds and money". Many peace-keeping operations could be carried out more effectively by regional organizations or single countries on behalf of the UN. For example, the UN was already building "valuable links" with the CSCE and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Regional organizations could also be asked to help with training. It was "empty to pretend that we can impose peace with justice on every disorder, every dispute, outside our national borders". But what the UN could do, it should do well—Cambodia and Namibia were success stories. However important peace-keeping might be, "successful preventive diplomacy would be better".

UNITED STATES

President William J. Clinton said the world was "no longer divided into two armed and angry camps". It was a turning point, a "moment of miracles". As a country that had over 150 racial, ethnic and religious groups, the United States policy was rooted in a "profound respect for all the world's religions and cultures". But it opposed extremism that produced "terrorism and hate". Broadly based prosperity was clearly the strongest form of preventive diplomacy. Democracy was "rooted in compromise, not conquest"—it rewarded "tolerance, not hatred". Three avenues were of major importance: non-proliferation of the "world's deadliest weapons"; conflict resolution; and sustainable development. UN peace-keeping held the "promise to resolve many of this era's conflicts". But the UN could not become "engaged in every one of the world's conflicts". If the American people were to say "Yes" to UN peace-keeping, the Organization "must know when to say 'No'". As world corporations were finding ways to "move from the industrial age into the information age—improving service, reducing bureaucracy and cutting costs"—the time had come to "reinvent the way the United Nations operates as well".

ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

Lionel Alexander Hurst, Permanent Representative to the UN, condemned current models of development—based on "consumption, distribution and disposal"—as destructive to the environment. Harmful gases were being emitted into the Earth's atmosphere, altering the global environment. "The effects of climate change, global warming and sea-level rise will reduce small island States like mine to zero", he said. "Our very existence is at stake; our peace and security are threatened by the actions of large and wealthy States whose presumptions about the Earth's resources need to be completely revised." The forthcoming Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States (April 1994) would serve to "articulate a programme of action to eliminate these man-induced, looming catastrophes". He was also confident that "the forces of goodwill, decency and democracy" would prevail in Haiti. "No previous Security Council embargo . . . was ever as swiftly effective as was the embargo imposed on the illegitimate regime in Haiti."

ARGENTINA

Guido di Tella, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship, said that there has been "remarkable progress in the consolidation of a climate of peace and détente in Latin America as a whole, thanks to the restoration of democracy and to economic reforms". Just as the region has worked toward economic integration, it should develop a "structure of regional security adapted to the present times and based on cooperation, balance and transparency". Argentina supported "total transparency" in its nuclear programme and had signed an agreement with Brazil on full-scope safeguards with the International Atomic Energy Agency. Progress in negotiating settlements with the United Kingdom over the Malvinas Islands had added to security in the region. However, there was still an impasse regarding oil rights.

BAHAMAS

Orville A. Turnquest, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Attorney-General, said that in countries like the Bahamas, social tensions were "reordering priorities", making it necessary to deal with "problems of a pandemic nature", such as poverty, illicit drugs, crime, violence, international terrorism, human rights violations and disease, and the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). The new world order would be nothing more than a "shifting of power centres" if the UN did not address: the peace dividend's impact on development; "stagnant growth" rates in "less-recently sovereign" countries; the need to ensure that trade liberalization facilitated by "megablocs" would be fair; and the risk of environmental awareness becoming another trade conditionality. The Bahamas also supported the Governors Island Accord to restore democracy in Haiti.

BARBADOS

Foreign Minister Branford M. Taitt, calling social development "among the greatest challenges facing the United Nations in the twenty-first century", welcomed the World Summit on Social Development, to be held in 1995. The UN must adopt radical measures to attack and eliminate conditions "which fuel the growing and unacceptable levels of poverty". Barbados also welcomed the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, which it would host in April/May 1994. International peace would be impossible if the global environment continued to be "sullied by rampant human rights abuses", or if "widespread resurgence of racism, xenophobia, religious intolerance, ethnic conflicts and various other forms of human rights abuses" continued.

BELIZE

Dean O. Barrow, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Economic Development, and Attorney General, said that the overall outlook for world security remained bleak due to fratricidal struggle and the crushing burden of armaments. Governments must forswear profiteering from the sale or sponsorship of the sale of armaments and should promote regional and subregional systems of cooperation in the areas of security, narcotics interdiction and counter-terrorism. International law should be modernized to proscribe and severely punish trafficking in arms. Belize favoured a standing UN force under unified UN command, and supported a reformed Security Council with more "equitable representation". There should be new efforts to end "corrupt practices in government and business, both national and international".

BOLIVIA

Constitutional President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada called for greater support from developed countries but not just in the form of aid. "The motto should be 'trade, not aid'. Yet it would seem that the fate of the underdeveloped world is 'no trade and no aid'." Bolivia did not want "special treatment", but only "to be allowed to work and to export, and not to be obliged just to export the most talented and vigorous people" in its society to the developed world. Economic growth would also reduce the need for peasants to cultivate coca leaves. So far, Bolivia had reduced coca leaf cultivation by 50 per cent. He expressed

concern that the end of the cold war had not engendered an increase in international cooperation and solidarity. "There was greater cooperation during the era of confrontation because of the desire to defend third-world countries against the communist threat."

BRAZIL

Foreign Minister Celso Luis Nunes Amorim said that the "inherent preoccupations of the cold war" had shifted from an East-West axis to a North-South orientation.

"New concepts have been used to justify discriminatory acts with repercussions for the countries of the South." Despite problems of underdevelopment, Brazil's task was to solve its "macroeconomic problems while steering clear of the authoritarian temptation" and to address difficult human rights questions, which were "deeply intertwined with the social imbalances inherited from decades of insensitivity rooted in authoritarian rule". The Government was taking steps to strengthen its presence in the Amazon region to "protect simultaneously the population and the environment". Brazil also urged the UN to apply the "democratic ideal" to the Security Council.

CHILE

Foreign Minister Enrique Silva Cimma said that Chile's present Government "viewed economic development as inseparable from social development". Chile had initiated the 1995 World Summit for Social Development because today's world posed "questions which must be answered without delay". The international community and the UN needed to eradicate "poverty, hunger and other social scourges". Chile also called for economic restructuring as a way to "raise the possiblity of saving millions of human beings who are currently marginalized, living in minimal security conditions". The renewal of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations provided hope for the developing world; however, "insistence on intransigent positions" was impeding world trade and creating "insurmountable barriers to development". Chile was making a sustained effort to participate in Pacific Basin agreements in order to promote the "liberalization of regional and worldwide trade".

COLOMBIA

President Cesar Gaviria Trujillo stated that Colombia was integrating its economy with the world and "demanding that other nations open their markets" to its products. He strongly endorsed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as a "decisive step in the right direction to liberalize trade relations, to our mutual benefit, between North and South". NAFTA would result in thousands of new jobs and increased economic growth. "The world must see that open markets and free trade are perhaps the best hope for serving the collective interests of both North and South." Colombia was committed to combating drug trafficking and would not rest until these criminal activities were "wiped from the face" of its land. This would require "determined action with courage and political will on the part of many more nations", since Colombia could not "counter sophisticated international organized crime by simply developing national or bilateral strategies".

COSTA RICA

Bernd H. Niehaus-Quesada, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship, decried "those who were interested in a Central America full of bloodshed and trenches" and did not want to deal with a "Central America of the poor, the Central America that calls for cooperation for development, for understanding of human and economic tragedies". The region had decided to embark "on a new life, cemented in peace, democracy and freedom". But after taking those actions, it was seeing the "doors close one after another". The entire international community should help to consolidate the "achievements of the Central American peace process". In particular, industrialized countries must fulfil promises they made at the Rio Summit—"that is, that they provide new and additional financial aid, something they have so far done on a fairly meagre scale".

CUBA

Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina Gonzalez regretted that the end of the cold war had not "resolved any of the fundamental problems facing humankind", but had "created many others". Principles of independence and national sovereignty were being "shredded to pieces" and were guaranteed "only to a few powerful countries whose views prevail", even in the UN. A process of democratization should begin to find solutions to the "malformations with which the United Nations was born and with which it developed". One malformation was the "veto privilege linked with the might of States" in the Security Council. He wanted enforcement of General Assembly resolution 47/19, calling for an end to the economic, commercial and financial embargo imposed by the United States against Cuba. Nevertheless, "in open defiance" of the General Assembly, the blockade has been reinforced during the last few months.

DOMINICA

Brian Alleyne, Minister for External Affairs, addressing the need to restructure the UN, said: "While the United Nations becomes more active in peace-keeping in various parts of the world,

programmes aimed at assisting developing countries must not be allowed to suffer." Dominica was experiencing economic problems due to a collapse in the banana industry, and a "threat to the banana industry in Dominica is also a threat to the fundamental human rights of its people". The international community should support the country's efforts to "ensure the survival of its economy and the protection of its peoples' political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights". Dominica also supported restoring democracy in Haiti, and was "willing to contribute to the civilian police and training contingent to Haiti to assist in the return of President Aristide".

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Juan Aristides Taveras Guzman, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was pleased that the disputes that had "disturbed the peace and hindered the development" in Central America were being resolved at the negotiating table. The international community should lend real assistance to stabilize the democratic regime and to ensure the economic reconstruction of Haiti. Among the major challenges facing mankind were economic crises, imbalances between the North and the South, and environmental crises. "Gradual destruction of ecosystems and the deteriorating quality of life of human beings" must be changed. His country, committed to combating drug trafficking, had just become party to two important UN drug instruments—the Convention against Illicit Trafficking and the 1972 Protocol to the Single Convention on Narcotic drugs.

ECUADOR

Foreign Minister Diego Paredes said the UN "must not forget that peace is threatened not only by military aggression but also, and even more, by situations of injustice or crisis that ought to be settled in a spirit of international solidarity". One way to strengthen economic growth would be through free trade. However, while developed countries "make splendid speeches in favour of free trade, the powerful countries continue to impose measures"—such as placing import barriers on Latin American bananas—that "contradict their fine words". The UN should review the financial policies of the international credit agencies to make sure that the flow of capital from the developing world to the developed countries "does not, as has happened to date, exceed the amount of aid or investment channelled to the developing countries".

EL SALVADOR

President Alfredo Felix Cristiani-Burkard said that El Salvador was striving to promote a culture of peace. In proceeding along this long path, it needed the international community's political, moral and financial support. "We must reincorporate ex-combatants in institutional and productive life through programmes such as the transfer of land for farming." El Salvador also needed timely technical and economic support to build the structures of peace more swiftly. The country could then wipe from its mind the "discouraging evidence that it is easier to find the money for war than for peace". As the East-West conflict has disappeared, "almost no-one speaks about the North-South conflict or alternative alignments". Meanwhile, the "serious problems of inequality, critical poverty and dependence have not been resolved". In this new scenario, the UN has a central role as the "instrument which will make peace processes viable".

GRENADA

Francis Alexis, Attorney-General and Minister of Legal Affairs and responsible for Caribbean Common Market affairs, said poverty, debt, inadequate resources, marginalization and the lack of secure markets for Grenada's products were dealing "serious blows to social, economic and political stability". He suggested concessioned trade as one way to produce a "level playing field" for developing countries. Free trade was not "always synonymous with fair trade: factors of size, resource endowment and levels of development must be duly considered in settling trade relations". This was "particularly so with small, open, primary-producing economies, where one serious natural disaster, such as a hurricane", could devastate all the fruits of national labour invested in bananas, cocoa and nutmeg.

GUATEMALA

Foreign Minister Arturo Fajardo Maldonado said that his country's vote for a new Congress had "no precedent" in Guatemala's political history. Guatemala was working to strengthen its efforts in the area of human rights, with a new "National Peace Plan and the Official Declaration on Human Rights". The plan "seeks lasting peace, achieved by putting an end to armed internal confrontation and seeing to it that the roots of hatred, resentment and distrust that have divided us are extirpated through negotiation and never again by violence". The UN and the Organization of American States should "increase their presence and technical contributions" to help Guatemala strengthen machinery for protecting human rights. Security was no longer an "exclusively geopolitical matter falling within the framework of bipolar confrontation". It should include new elements, including democracy, development, preservation of the environment, combating drug trafficking, food security and population trends.

THE NATIONS SPEAK

GUYANA

President Cheddi B. Jagan thanked the UN for "ensuring that the democratic will" of the people of Guyana was fully respected during his country's recent electoral process. Developing countries must face such problems as high debt and weak economies. "Some 90 cents of each dollar earned now go towards the repayment of the national debt". Debt relief was urgently needed if developing countries were to "eradicate poverty, protect the environment and play a meaningful role in expanding world trade". Unfortunately, the North-South dialogue had become "a dialogue of the deaf". Meanwhile, progress would only occur when "inequitable and unjust economic and trade practices in the global system" were removed.

HAITI

Claudette Werleigh, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship, said that the Haitian people had been "waging an earnest and constant struggle for the restoration of democracy" and for fundamental rights "stolen from it in the *coup d'etat* of 30 September 1991". Haiti was "on the eve of turning this painful page" in its history. She appealed to "all those who wish in good will to build a better life today and a better future for the children of Haiti" to give her country "an opportunity to renew its path of progress". The international community should maintain pressure "so that the minority forces opposing the democratic aspirations of the Haitian people" would find themselves "completely isolated". She also expressed concern that "the South remains in a position of subordination and dependence, which prevents it from managing the new world order well". The international system needed "a profound reform", especially in the fields of "trade, finance and technology". Haiti supported the process of UN reform to increase its effectiveness.

HONDURAS

Foreign Minister Macarias Zapata wanted to see Central America established as a "region of peace, freedom, democracy and development". He appealed to Central American countries to coordinate efforts toward economic integration and social development. To establish peace in the region, priority must be given to the geographical areas most affected by poverty. Greater social participation should be promoted by encouraging human development at the local level. Social development in macroeconomic policies would encourage both domestic and foreign investment. All attempts to achieve prosperity in Central America must inevitably involve a willingness on the part of the industrialized States to "establish an open, multilateral trade system" that would give the region access to competitive markets. He asked the international community to give greater support to the "universal organs for the legal settlement of disputes".

JAMAICA

Paul D. Robertson, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, said that the global community was at a "crossroads in history, poised between the prospect of peaceful economic progress through globalization and technological advancement and a relapse into conflict fuelled by poverty, political tyranny and ethnic strife". An "Agenda for Development" must establish "the need for a favourable international economic environment and a non-discriminatory trading system. . . . If human needs are not adequately met, if human resources are not developed, we destroy the very basis of sustained development: our people." Migration—national and international—was a clear manifestation of social ills. "If people do not find economic security in their native land, they go wherever they can find it—from rural to urban area; from one country or one continent to another."

MEXICO

Fernando Solana Morales, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said the UN of the next century should not become a "mechanism, however efficient, for balancing the interests of the most powerful". Instead, it must promote "equitable representation" in the Security Council. "Those who make the greatest contributions to the maintenance of peace, not necessarily those who are the largest producers and exporters of the world's weapons, should be members of the Council." The right of veto was not democratic. He called for "political determination, imagination and strategic creativity and international cooperation" to stop the growth of the "terrible social cancer of drug abuse". The Assembly should also address the problem of "migratory currents", which were developing "with renewed vigour as the century draws to a close". All countries should have national plans based on "policies which make it possible for the inhabitants to live in a dignified manner in their own country".

NICARAGUA

President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro said: "We are in the process of shaking off an inheritance of 50 years of right-wing dictatorship and 10 years of left-wing dictatorship. At the same time, we are moving from a centralized economy to a social market economy." Nicaragua needed to build a democracy, "reconstruct a wounded society and compete economically with the world,

all while following an economic adjustment plan" that left no resources for social investment. If foreign aid arrived late, democracy in Nicaragua could collapse. Countries like Nicaragua, Haiti and El Salvador could not compete with nations "that have not suffered the pain of the political, economic and social destruction caused by war". Her Government was making efforts to disarm civilian groups and to "prevent the thousands of weapons already confiscated from being used once again to undermine Nicaragua's democratic achievements and so undermine the regional stability of Central America".

PANAMA

Carlos Arosemena, Permanent Representative to the UN, saw drug addiction as the "main scourge of humanity", and called upon all States to repress drug trafficking and the resulting money-laundering activities. Panama had signed important treaties with the United States and the United Kingdom to fight drug trafficking, and it hoped to sign similar agreements with Latin American countries. He commended Central American countries for "striving to build a peaceful, free, democratic and developing region", but such peace would require actions capable of solving its economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems. He asked for the cooperation of all States, especially in the area of trade, and appealed to the General Assembly to "listen attentively to the demands of the Ibero-American community", which felt that most products of its member States had been repeatedly "denied increased access to markets which have been traditionally accessible". Those States should also be resolved to put their financial situations in order and "not depend on the marketing of a few products".

PARAGUAY

President Juan Carlos Wasmosy hoped for agreement in the Uruguay Round negotiations so that markets would continue to open up "without any tariff or other barriers". International coexistence required that Paraguay seek to establish "mutually supportive understandings and agreements that will strengthen the collective economy". The Treaty on the Integration of the Common Market in the Southern Cone pointed to a "higher and higher level" of cooperation to "harmonize economies" and "reach better and broader understandings". He wanted a more balanced treatment of the social and economic issues on the international agenda. New global issues must not take attention away "from development and the struggle against poverty". To promote this spirit of interdependence, he suggested that the UN declare 30 July as the "World Day of Friendship".

PERU

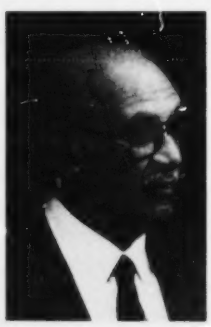
Constitutional President Alberto Fujimori Fujimori said that "so-called traditional democracy" had solved none of Peru's problems, including "hyperinflation, isolation from the international financial community, terrorism, drug-trafficking, corruption and internal and external debt". In exceptional circumstances, "when the civilized existence and survival of a nation is at stake, each country has to find its own course and its own solutions and then reconstruct its democracy. Failing this, it will simply become ungovernable." Peru's own political system was one of the most inefficient on the continent. His Government had to stop the "crisis and the terrorism which steadily nourished it" so that the country would not collapse. Peru had recently received a letter from the Shining Path leader, asking for "a peace agreement". But he stressed that there could be "no negotiations with a genocidal terrorist group".

SAINT KITTS AND NEVIS

Kennedy A. Simmonds, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, viewed the emerging international economic order as "one in which the developed and the more powerful countries" were creating "mega-sized trading and economic blocs, and seeking to establish rules designed to secure their own aggrandizement at the expense of small developing countries". Industrialized countries were "seeking to redeploy the world's resources" for their own benefit. Only through development, however, would the world achieve "lasting peace". He suggested that the UN establish an office in the eastern Caribbean "to serve the interests of the smaller island-States". He also called for greater market access for Caribbean products. Any loss of the "limited access which these products from the Caribbean enjoy could have catastrophic consequences for the economies and lives of the people in the Caribbean".

SAINT LUCIA

William George Mallet, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister for Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Trade and Industry, said that the "world has seen an impressive political transformation". However, "if the price of these political gains is an exacerbated marginalization of the small developing countries, they will undoubtedly soon be dissipated in a sea of economic troubles" and social disruption. Caribbean developing island countries were particularly fragile, since they were "trapped in an international economic system which yields no quarter" to the problems and needs that are peculiar to them. In this post-cold-war era,



aid was not always directed towards areas of greater need, but rather to areas with issues which were politically topical. Meanwhile, where there is little economic advancement, political gain "will continue to prove transitory".

SAINT VINCENT & THE GRENADINES

Herbert George Young, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Tourism, called Agenda 21 the "centrepiece" of international effort and hoped that the creation of the Commission on Sustainable Development would help ensure that the measures prescribed by it were adequately addressed. The international community should recognize the special characteristics and developmental needs of small island States. Those who lived in small island States had "limited options in response to the international economic environment". Conferences such as the World Summit for Social Development offered hope that they would bring "tangible benefits". His country was committed to supporting indigenous people to ensure that they "continue to participate fully in national society".

SURINAME

Foreign Minister Subhas Mungra stated that without broad-based development, democracy would not take hold in the world. In Latin America and the Caribbean, which have been undergoing a steady process of democratization, it was the joint responsibility of the international community and developing countries to "see that this momentum is preserved". However, many people living in poor areas did not receive enough attention due to the "high priority given to issues of international peace and security". The annual peace-keeping budget had increased fivefold, while voluntary contributions to the UN Development Programme, the UN Fund for Population Activities and the UN Children's Fund had declined by 10 per cent. Favourable economic conditions could help strengthen peace. Therefore, Suriname favoured a programme "based on a combination of political, economic and social factors together with global security". The international community must address the need to alleviate the debt burden of developing countries and expand their export opportunities. Structural readjustments programmes also must recognize "the reality of developing countries".

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Annette des Iles, Permanent Representative to the UN, stated that human suffering brought on by "economic stagnation" was just as "disconcerting and disheartening" as pain caused by war. And only true partnerships would be able to succeed in the "collective war on poverty, disease, unemployment and other challenges to development". A spirit of "cooperation and activism" was needed to "impel the international community to address economic and social questions"—perhaps in the form of a world economic summit. Poverty, unemployment and crime were "threatening the very fabric of societies" and were "clamouring for the concerted attention of the international community". The UN must also streamline its "administrative and operational performance" and address the "growing imbalance" between the demands being made upon the UN and the "ability of a growing number of States to meet the cost of these demands".

URUGUAY

Foreign Minister Sergio Abreu emphasized the close relationship between international trade, development and political stability. "Just as human rights cannot be subject to the whims of Governments, neither can free trade be limited by the pressures of national or sectoral interests", he said. Opening up markets was an "undertaking of benefit to all" and "protectionist policies" were "clearly incompatible with the rules of GATT". As Chairman of the Negotiating Committee of the GATT's Uruguay Round, Uruguay was concerned that after seven years, "certain trends continue to obstruct the multilateralization process". Nothing can be done individually today. "Interrrelationships exist between large economic blocs; no country can escape that reality." Uruguay also urged the UN to inject an "energy for renewal" into its bureaucracy, and asked the Organization to strengthen international law to enhance security.

VENEZUELA

Foreign Minister Fernando Ochoa Antich said that while democratic regimes prevailed in almost all of Latin America, those democracies were "still young and have experienced difficulties in recent months". Venezuela recently overcame a "severe political crisis", but it could "say with pride that democracy persists". His country must turn to problems facing its economy and environment. Only a "balanced and equitable growth rate" would preserve democracy, but this would entail the "full cooperation of the industrialized countries" in searching for development. Illegal mining along the Amazonian border was "wiping out plants and animals" and "annihilating the local population". The global community must work together to preserve tropical forests, and make special efforts to take up the challenge of sustainable development in a zone where the "ecological balance is so precarious". Only by doing so would Venezuela be able to conserve Amazonia for future generations.

The Smallest Democracy

At the heart of society

By Nancy Seufert-Barr

It is the oldest and most basic unit of human organization; the most crucial link between generations; the primary transmitter of culture; the sustainer of heritage; and the major provider of food, shelter and love. It has been described as the smallest democracy at the heart of our ever-changing society.

"It" is the family. And, for the first time, the world, led by the United Nations, pays a consolidated tribute to this most essential, enduring and endangered of human institutions through its celebration of the International Year of the Family in 1994.

The International Year, proclaimed by the General Assembly on 8 December 1989 *(resolution 44/82)*, was formally launched on 7 December 1993 with a special ceremony at UN Headquarters in New York, featuring a children's chorus singing the official theme song of the Year—*The Family*—composed by Jacqueline Reinach of the United States.

The Year "celebrates the contribution of the family to human life in all of its aspects", UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said on that occasion. "In the change and confusion of the modern world, families are a source of stability and promise. . . . They are a force for progress, a counterweight to alienation, and a defence against breakdown and disorder."

Yet, despite those strengths, said the Secretary-General, "families everywhere are under pressure. In some countries, the rates of family disintegration are a cause for genuine alarm. In other countries, negative pressures on families have weakened their cohesiveness. Family support mechanisms have been seriously undermined."

With its theme "Families: resources and responsibilities in a changing world", the Year aims first to create among Governments, policy-makers and the public a greater awareness of the family as the fundamental unit of society and to prompt action in support of families, as well as greater sensitivity to their needs.

The official logo for the Year *(pictured above)*, designed by Swiss-born Catherine Littacy-Rollier, is a heart sheltered by a roof to symbolize life and love in the home—the heart of the family. The open brush stroke provides an image of the family in today's world: continuity with a hint of uncertainty.

"Present-day realities remind us of the importance of families as basic units of society, performing such vital functions as the rearing of children, caring for the vulnerable, providing emotional and material support for their members and, generally, serving as the pillars of entire communities", noted forty-eighth Assembly President S. R. Insanally of Guyana at the Year's launching. "It has been said, in fact, that if we want better people to make a better world, we should begin where people are made—in the family."

Some three dozen UN organizations and specialized agencies have been involved in preparing for the Year, along with 16 intergovernmental organizations outside the UN system. Several countries have launched national programmes for the Year and the General Assembly will hold an International Conference on Families in October 1994. The Assembly on 20 September 1993 also established an annual International Day of Families, which in 1994 will be observed on 15 May.

Among the important goals of the Year, UN agencies have called for: recognition of the participation of families in the achievement of fundamental human development aims, such as poverty alleviation, health, nutrition, education, shelter and employment; the formulation of "family-sensitive" national policies; and governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to assess how their decisions and actions will affect families.

An assessment of the Year, including the views of Member States, is planned for early 1995, as well as an interregional expert group meeting to identify and elaborate appropriate follow-up strategies.

The subject of families "provides a unique convergence of numerous issues of social policy, human rights and development", noted a joint statement issued on 19 August *(Annex to A/48/293)* by UN organizations and specialized agencies. "It is an occasion to promote the concept of the family as the smallest democracy at the heart of society."

A primary principle underpinning observance of the International Year is that families assume diverse forms and functions from one country to another and within each national society. Indeed, while individuals and family groups struggle to retain their proud traditions and heritage, for many people today the most pronounced feature of their lives is change. Worldwide, the family is undergoing constant transformation due to social change, economic problems and pressures of modernization and development.

Powerful demographic and socio-economic forces are also reshaping

family structure. Populations and families are ageing; households are changing in size and composition; people are waiting before getting married and are having children later in life; and women are bearing fewer children and living longer, leaving increasing numbers of older women widowed, alone and without support during their later years.

In all industrial countries except the former Soviet Union, the average household size shrank over the past two decades. For instance, the average United States household continued to shrink, from 3.1 persons in 1970 to 2.6 in 1990. That trend also characterizes most countries in Latin America and eastern Asia. For example, China's average household declined from 4.4 persons in 1982 to 4 in 1990.

On the other hand, in African and south and west Asian countries, the average household size seems to have increased. In Algeria, for example, it rose from 5.9 persons in 1966 to 7 in 1987.

At the same time, the number of one-person households has increased remarkably in industrial countries—with growing numbers of young, unmarried and elderly people living alone—as well as in developing countries on their way to modernization.

These developments have important consequences for the provision of security and welfare support for dependants, particularly children, the elderly, disabled persons and the chronically ill. This is especially true in countries where the family and the community are still the main means of providing individual security.

Preparing for the Year

The need to develop concrete and long-range approaches to support families and the importance of recognizing the diverse forms of families and the changing patterns of family life have been stressed by the UN Commission for Social Development, which has assumed a crucial role as the preparatory body for the 1994 observance by establishing the conceptual framework for international action on family issues.

At its 1993 annual session (8-17 February, Vienna)—the final session in preparation for the Year—the Commission affirmed the pivotal role of families in society and asserted the importance of supporting families as the basic social institution ensuring the survival of human society and the well-being of family members.

The role of families as social policy actors was another important theme, with speakers calling for families and their concerns to be integrated more fully into broad strategies of social and economic development.

Rights, responsibilities

In an overview of the preparatory process for the Year, the Secretary-General reported *(A/48/293)* that, in the early stages of preparations, there had been fears that the Year "might impose a standard definition of the family and promote a specific family model; and that the Year, by stressing the rights of families, might neglect their important responsibilities".

However, activities for the Year had ended up taking a broad approach to all forms of families, putting equal emphasis on rights and responsibilities. Moreover, a clear sense of the global nature of many family issues had evolved, with several elements of international consensus regarding families emerging, Mr. Boutros-Ghali reported. Those included:

- The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State;
- Various concepts of the family exist in different social, cultural and political systems. It is also recognized that families are basic to the social structure and development of all societies and exhibit many common problems around the world;
- Gender equality, women's equal participation in employment and shared parental responsibilities are essential elements of modern family policy;
- Families are the fullest reflection, at the grass-roots level, of the strengths and weaknesses of the social and developmental welfare environment; and
- Families, as basic units of social life, are major agents of sustainable development at all levels of society, and their contribution is crucial for its success.

To those ends, the secretariat for the International Year, based in Vienna, has coordinated an international technical cooperation programme on families, with specific projects under way in Africa and in countries of the former Soviet Union.

Other projects undertaken at the national and international levels include research activities, publication programmes, media strategies, promotional events, expert meetings and conferences on family issues, policy analysis and development, legislative reform programmes, educational and training programmes, funding programmes for family services, cultural events, and development of long-term strategies for family support at the local, national and international levels.

In 1993, Member States convened four regional preparatory meetings and non-governmental bodies presented two major international events: an international congress for families—"Familyfest '93" (5 June, Rome)—which was broadcast live via satellite; and a world forum of NGOs—"Strengthening Families for the Well-being of Individuals and Society" (28 November-2 December, Valleta, Malta).

Attended by some 1,000 delegates from 100 countries, the World NGO Forum on the International Year of the Family (1994) provided a platform for generating ideas and activities emphasizing the involvement of grass-roots organizations and families themselves. It aimed to serve as a catalyst for action on behalf of families and to focus on effective follow-up action for the Year.

In plenary sessions and at 40 specific workshops, the Forum gave special attention to strengthening

the family by promoting solidarity, equality between men and women and respect for every individual member of the family.

At its conclusion, participants issued the "Malta Statement" *(A/48/712)*, calling on Governments and the UN to enter into an ongoing process of building a "family-friendly society" and for a declaration on the rights and responsibilities of families to be identified as a specific goal of follow-up to the Year.

Think family

Consideration of family-related issues would offer an opportunity to address, as the Secretary-General had noted in a statement to the NGO Forum, social issues and development in a comprehensive manner. "Think family, because family matters", Henryk J. Sokalski, UN Coordinator for the International Year, stressed in New York on 6 December.

The family has been part of many international legal instruments agreed by Member States in the five decades since the UN was created. As these instruments have evolved, they have struck a balance between promoting human rights and respecting existing traditions, as well as protecting the family as an institution, while safeguarding the individual rights of its members.

Among the important international instruments which refer to the family are: the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; the 1981 Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief; and the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Building upon this foundation of international law, the Year aims to improve the world's institutional capability to tackle serious family-related problems.

Family and Youth:
An apprenticeship for life

Families are the ultimate mentors, providing the fundamental apprenticeship for life. Under the right conditions, they prepare young people to realize their potential and assume useful roles as adults in society.

In fact, the maxim "learning begins at birth" is an undisputed concept. The period from birth to the age of six is critical in the formation of intelligence, personality and social behaviour. It is in the family that the child's self-understanding and self-esteem are developed. The learning that occurs in the early months and years of life will either enhance or handicap learning throughout later life.

Children also socialize their parents, serving as carriers of emerging trends. In many ways, parents learn from their children about child development, peer and sibling relationships, school, fashion and changes in society. In particular, immigrant and refugee parents often learn about their new country's language, customs and culture from their children.

The family also performs a fundamental role in education. Despite growing support for the view that education is an essential right of all individuals, the decisions of parents still play a pivotal role in determining the amount and quality of education that any child receives, either formally or informally.

In cultures where education is highly valued, it has been observed that a stable family system is a major factor in encouraging children to acquire education. In contrast, the decline in educational attainment in some countries has been in part attributed to the decline of family support systems.

Indeed, the relationship of today's young people with the older generation, in particular with their families, has become increasingly fragile. The tremendous transformations occurring in and around the family have diminished the influence of the family in the socialization process. Schools, peer groups, computer technology and television all compete with the family in socializing young people.

In 1993, a five-day interregional meeting on the role of family in the socialization of youth (31 May-4 June, Beijing) brought together experts from Bangladesh, China, Egypt, India, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan and the Russian Federation, among others, to recommend guidelines for improving the formulation of national policies in support of the role of the family in socializing youth and the role of youth in socializing the family.

According to Mr. Sokalski, UN Coordinator for the Year, families "serve as agents of, or obstacles to, change and development". As stated previously by the Secretary-General, "life in larger freedom, so basic to the vision of the United Nations, cannot be achieved unless first lived in the experience of families".

"Let us remember", stated Assembly President Insanally on 7 December, "that in advancing the concept of the family as the smallest democracy at the heart of society, we will be helping to build a world in which peace and development can best flourish. We must, therefore, strive to ensure that the institution of the family not only survives, but is greatly strengthened." ■

The graphics on these pages are based on stamps designed by Rocco Callari of the UN Postal Administration.

Families around the world

Universal in their diversity

The family is a universal phenomenon—throughout the centuries and throughout the world. Yet families manifest themselves in widely different forms, and perceptions of the role of the family vary among societies and cultures.

The diversity in family structures worldwide has often been stressed by the UN, and promoting an accurate understanding of families in all their forms among Governments, policy-makers and the public is a major objective of the International Year of the Family.

Historically, in most cultures the family has been patriarchal or male-dominated. One example is given in the Old Testament, where male heads of a clan were allowed several wives, as well as concubines. In ancient Rome, the family was also patriarchal, but polygamy was not practised. The Roman family was an extended one, and the patriarch had the authority even to kill his sons.

In medieval Europe, the family was influenced by the practices of the Roman Catholic church and feudalism; it was generally extended and male-dominated. In contrast, Muslim women of the same period had considerable control over their own personal property.

The industrial revolution spawned great changes in family structure. Industrialization and urbanization prompted a marked change in life and working styles. Many people, especially the young, left the farms to work in factories. This process led to the dissolution of many extended families.

At the same time, patriarchal rule slowly gave way to greater equality between the sexes. Stereotyping of male and female roles within the family broke down. No longer was caring for the home and children the exclusive duty of women, nor earning a living and pursuing a public life the exclusive domain of men. Many wives started working outside the home, just as many husbands started sharing tasks to maintain a household.

Traditional definitions of family structure tend to be based on two major types: the nuclear and the extended. Nuclear families, which usually contain just two generations—parents and children—include one-parent and adoptive families.

Extended families, involving several generations, include polygamous marriages, which are culturally accepted in most African countries and tribal groups, where families are built upon a social rather than a biological basis. Responsibility for child care may be taken by several people, including aunts and uncles. This type of family rarely neglects children because there is an abundance of parents.

But in many countries, the extended family is being replaced by the nuclear

family. With the advances of equality between the sexes, new technologies facilitating child-bearing, and economic changes that provide women with independent sources of income, the nuclear family itself is changing. Non-traditional family types are becoming more and more common, such as cohabitation, same-gender relationships, single-parent families and reorganized families.

With the resurgence of international migration in the 1980s, migrant families have become increasingly common. Such families have to shoulder the burden of cultural change, difficult adjustments and rapidly transformed interpersonal relations.

Another major trend is the reorganized family, created through marriage, remarriage or cohabitation of people who had children by former partners.

The problems faced by families vary from region to region, but there are also common threads.

Representatives attending the Africa and Western Asia preparatory meeting for the Year (Tunis, 29 March-2 April) pointed to strengthening the role of the family as the fundamental unit of society through national legislation and regional action as a primary need of their area.

National development policies in Asia and the Pacific generally have not acknowledged the family "as a fundamental social institution", according to Rafeeuddin Ahmed, Executive Secretary of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), in a message to the region's preparatory meeting for the Year. Families in the region were characterized by a diversity of cultures from India to China; economic situations ranging from the least to the most developed countries; a very dynamic and rapid rate of change and urbanization; and a new emphasis on equality between men and women.

Various socio-economic and cultural factors have also impacted family structures in Latin America and the Caribbean. Ginger Marino de Nule, Advisor for Colombia's Presidential Programme of Youth, Women and Family, stated before that region's preparatory meeting (Cartegena, 9-14 August). Increases in premarital sexuality, divorce and single-parent families have contributed to "making government programmes in support of families quite inadequate to deal with the new requirements", she said.

Similarly, families in the United States are challenged by the fact that it has the highest divorce rate in the world; nearly a third of all pregnancies end in abortion; and a quarter of American children grow up in single-parent families. Matilda Cuomo, the First Lady of New York, told the World NGO Forum on 2 December. "Children are bearing children, children are shooting children, children are being lost to drugs or locked in prison. All of them are paying the price for lessons that their parents and society failed to teach them."

Indeed, according to Louis Galea, Minister for Home Affairs and Social Development in Malta and Chairman of the preparatory meeting for Europe and North America (Valletta, Malta, 26-30 April), families in Western Europe and North America were struggling to adapt to secularization and individualism, while those in Eastern Europe were faced with forceful break-up through wars and painful tensions from transition to privatized economies.

Although these challenges and shared changes in family structure may be seen as a sign of decline, the family institution has shown remarkable vitality and resilience.

Families "are at the leading edge of change and are adapting to serious challenges, often under very demanding conditions", Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali has stated. They remain, as they have throughout history, "essential to the fabric of society". ■

Families at Risk:
UN tackles the challenge

In today's world, many families face daunting challenges that threaten their ability to function and, indeed, to survive. Disease, war, poverty, famine, environmental problems, unemployment, drugs, crime and the scourge of the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) are taxing families in both the developing and developed worlds, often beyond their ability to cope.

"War and political conflict are widespread today, and they exact a heavy toll", said the Secretary-General at the launching of the International Year of the Family on 7 December.

"Separation and loss physically threaten family cohesion. Trauma and displacement inflict overwhelming emotional distress. Economically, unplanned development disrupts traditional patterns of family life. Industrial strategies are often pursued with little regard for their impact upon the family. The inability of some families to provide for themselves weakens family cohesion and undermines self-respect."

Socially, the Secretary-General said, "too rapid urbanization disrupts family relations and family-based social systems. Elsewhere, the fear of crime and a pervasive atmosphere of violence, make normal family life impossible."

To address these issues, the UN system, under the auspices of the Ad Hoc Inter-agency Meetings on the International Year of the Family, has established a system-wide Task Force on Families at Risk to develop joint activities benefitting vulnerable families.

The aim is to pool UN expertise to identify factors placing families at risk and enabling families to cope with problems; identify tools for developing activities directed at families at risk; and promote interventions enhancing family well-being.

The Task Force, which held its first meeting in July 1993, is led by the World Health Organization (WHO), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), the UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO), with organizational support from the secretariat for the International Year.

The UN system has also proposed a working definition of "families at risk" as families which are unable to fulfil the basic functions of production, reproduction and socialization. They do not meet their members' basic needs in areas such as health, nutrition, shelter, physical and emotional care, and personal development.

Families at risk can also be those in which individuals lose their sense of personal and group security; those in which family members experience physical or psychological exploitation; and which are likely to break up as a consequence of political, social or economic factors.

Some risk factors arise within the family. These include domestic violence, drug and alcohol addiction, child and sexual abuse, and child neglect. Large numbers of families are also at risk due to forces beyond their control. Refugee and displaced families, immigrant families, single-parent families, and those whose livelihood has been destroyed by environmental degradation are but a few examples.

Refugee families, in particular, face special problems. In the sudden move from their homeland to country of asylum, husbands and wives may be separated, and children may be forced to leave their relatives. Feelings of helplessness and insecurity in an unfamiliar setting, sickness and malnutrition exert tremendous strains on those families who survive.

But even in extreme circumstances, the family remains an irreplaceable source of strength. The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has found that the most effective relief measures are those which recognize the value of the family. Accordingly, that agency has developed an approach which utilizes the refugee family's resources and capacity to organize itself. Such a family is seen as a potential unit for self-help, whose strength must be put to full use.

Single parenthood is another important issue. Children in families headed by single mothers are more likely to live in poverty than children living with both parents. In the United States, 65 per cent of children of black single mothers are poor, compared with only 18 per cent of children of black married couples. Single-parent families, where the mother is a teenager, present the greatest problem due to the general inadequacy of financial resources and lack of parental resources.

Some of the factors putting families at risk can be predicted and prevented. Effective prevention is preferable to costly family "band-aids", such as special housing, money grants and the re-equipping and stabilizing of rehoused families. Long-term preventive measures include better education and public information campaigns, as well as improvement of the status of women.

TO OUR READERS

- Is the *UN Chronicle* meeting your interests and expectations?

- Would you like to receive a complimentary leaflet on the World's Indigenous Peoples and a UN map?

- We invite you to participate in our readership survey.

- Please fill out the questionnaire on the next page and return it today!

March 1994

DEAR READER:

The expanding role of the United Nations in world affairs and technological advances in the dissemination of information prompt us to determine whether the *UN Chronicle* is meeting your interests and expectations.

We would greatly appreciate your taking a few minutes of your time to complete the attached questionnaire and return it, as soon as possible, to the address provided at the end of the questionnaire. Your responses will help us improve our service to you.

If this copy of the *UN Chronicle* is shared by various readers, please make a photocopy of the survey questionnaire for yourself and fill it out, so others may do the same. We are interested in hearing from everyone who reads our magazine or becomes acquainted with it for the first time.

As a token of appreciation for participating in this survey, we will mail a complimentary leaflet and a UN map to each person who responds.

We look forward to receiving your comments.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Flynn-Connors

Elizabeth Flynn-Connors
Editor-in-Chief

QUESTIONNAIRE

(Please read each question carefully and mark the appropriate box or fill out the blank space. Please print or type.)

1. Which of the following best describes your acquaintance with this issue of the **UN Chronicle**?

   - ☐ My employer/organization is a subscriber
   - ☐ I am an individual subscriber
   - ☐ I/my office bought it
   - ☐ Through a friend/relative/peer/teacher
   - ☐ I received a free copy
   - ☐ Through a library
   - ☐ Other (specify): _____

2. Where did you see/read this issue of the **UN Chronicle**?

   - ☐ At home
   - ☐ At a public library
   - ☐ At a school/university library
   - ☐ At a UN office/information centre
   - ☐ At a non-governmental organization
   - ☐ Other (specify): _____

3. How often do you read the **UN Chronicle**?

   - ☐ Regularly
   - ☐ Occasionally
   - ☐ Rarely
   - ☐ I just saw/read it for the first time

4. Why do you read the **UN Chronicle**? (Check all that apply and circle the most important.)

   - ☐ To use in my own research
   - ☐ It is useful for a class I'm teaching
   - ☐ It is useful for a class I'm taking
   - ☐ For information about UN conferences and meetings
   - ☐ To keep abreast of the UN Secretary-General's activities
   - ☐ For information on UN operations worldwide, such as (specify): _____
   - ☐ General interest in world affairs
   - ☐ For pleasure
   - ☐ Other (specify): _____

5. How many people share/read your copy of the **UN Chronicle**?

   - ☐ No one else
   - ☐ 1 additional person
   - ☐ 2 to 5 additional people
   - ☐ 6 to 9 additional people
   - ☐ 10 or more additional people
   - ☐ I don't know/cannot estimate

6. Excluding the **UN Chronicle**, which specialized magazines covering UN-related issues or international affairs do you read, subscribe to, or purchase regularly?

   (a) _____
   (b) _____

7. How does the **UN Chronicle** compare with other specialized magazines covering . . .

	Better than most	About as good	Not as good	Not sure
...the United Nations	☐	☐	☐	☐
...international affairs	☐	☐	☐	☐

8. Which other magazines/journals of any kind do you read, subscribe to, or purchase regularly?

   (a) _____
   (b) _____

9. How important to your professional or personal interests are the following sections of the **UN Chronicle**:

	Critical	Very Imp.	Somewhat Imp.	Not Imp.	Not sure
Cover stories	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Political news	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other UN news	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Features	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The 38th floor	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Development Forum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A Look Back	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
BookWatch	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
News Almanac	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Stamp Corner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Coming Up	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. What would you like to see more of in the **UN Chronicle**?

    _____
    _____

11. What would you like to see less of in the **UN Chronicle**?

    _____
    _____

12. What, in your opinion, should be the periodicity of the **UN Chronicle**?

    ☐ Monthly ☐ Bimonthly ☐ Quarterly

13. If the **UN Chronicle** were sold at the newsstand, what do you think the price should be? (US$)

☐ $10 ☐ $8 ☐ $6
☐ $4 ☐ $2 ☐ Other: ___

14. Regarding the quality of the articles in this issue of the **UN Chronicle**, please rate the following:

	Excellent	Very good	Fair	Poor	Not sure
Depth of coverage	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Editorial balance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Thoroughness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Timeliness	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Writing style	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

15. How would you rate the following aspects of the **UN Chronicle**:

	Excellent	Very good	Fair	Poor	Not sure
Ease of reading	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Layout/design	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Printing quality	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Use of photographs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Use of graphs and charts	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

16. Based on this issue of the **UN Chronicle**, how much do you agree/disagree with the following statements about its content:

	Strongly agree 5	4	3	2	Strongly disagree 1
(a) It contributes to a better understanding of the UN role in world affairs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(b) It helps to explain how the UN works	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(c) It provides adequate factual information on UN issues	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(d) It gives greater detail on key international issues than most specialized publications	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

17. Please feel free to comment on any aspect of this issue of the **UN Chronicle**:

_____
_____
_____

18. Finally, please tell us something about yourself:

(a) I am: ☐ Male ☐ Female

(b) My age is:

☐ Under 25 ☐ 25 - 34 ☐ 35 - 44
☐ 45 - 54 ☐ 55 - 64 ☐ 65 or over

(c) My profession is: _____

(d) My field of work/occupation is:

☐ Non-governmental organization
☐ International organization
☐ Government
☐ Media organization
☐ Business/Industry
☐ Academia/Education
☐ Student
☐ Retiree
☐ Self-employed
☐ Other (specify) _____

(e) The highest level of education I attained is:

☐ Secondary/High School
☐ Technical/Vocational School
☐ Some college
☐ Bachelor's degree
☐ Postgraduate work
☐ Postgraduate degree
☐ Doctoral work
☐ Doctoral degree

19. OPTIONAL ENTRY (please print or type):

Please send a complimentary UN Map and leaflet by return mail to:

Name: _____
Address: _____
_____

Please return questionnaire to:

Programme Evaluation and Communications Research Unit
Department of Public Information
UNITED NATIONS, Room S-1072A
New York, N.Y. 10017, USA

Sanctions lifted after 31 years

Interim Constitution agreed on

Reuters

African National Congress President Nelson Mandela *(centre)* and South African President F. W. de Klerk *(right)* were jointly awarded the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize at a ceremony on 10 December at Oslo City Hall in Norway.

Noting that the "transition to democracy has now been enshrined in the law of South Africa", the General Assembly on 8 October ended a 31-year ban on economic and other ties with South Africa and its nationals, in the areas of trade, investment, finance, travel and transportation. States were asked to lift the sanctions they had imposed over the years under numerous UN resolutions and decisions.

Economic sanctions were first enacted in 1962, when the Assembly asked Member States to break off diplomatic relations with South Africa, boycott its goods and refrain from exporting goods, including armaments, to that country. Those sanctions were expanded over the years, as the international community sought to end the system of apartheid, which the Assembly had repeatedly condemned as a "crime against humanity".

In adopting resolution 48/1 by consensus, the 184-member world body decided that the embargo on petroleum and petroleum products and on investment in the petroleum industry in South Africa would cease, as soon as the Transitional Executive Council—South Africa's first non-racial governing body—became operational. That Council met for the first time on 7 December in Cape Town.

Ibrahim A. Gambari of Nigeria, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, said the Assembly action would send "a very strong signal" to South Africans that the international community would assist in the country's economic reconstruction and ensure that the new South Africa would begin its existence unhampered by the constraints imposed on the old South Africa. "The long journey towards the final obliteration of over 300 years of minority domination is near its end", he later said.

The Security Council instituted a voluntary arms embargo against South Africa in 1963, making it mandatory on 4 November 1977—the first time such an action had been taken against a Member State.

Also in 1977, the Assembly asked the Council to consider imposing mandatory economic sanctions and in January 1979, to consider a mandatory embargo on oil and oil products.

The International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, adopted by the Assembly in 1985, entered into force on 4 April 1988. The Convention obliged States parties not to permit sports contacts with countries practising apartheid.

In November 1986, the Assembly set up the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa. Its mandate was terminated on 20 December 1993.

In December 1991, following positive steps taken by South Africa, including repeal and revision of major apartheid and security laws, the Assembly declared that academic, scientific and cultural links could be resumed with South Africa, provided they were with democratic, anti-apartheid organizations. It also

declared sports contacts with non-racial South African sporting organizations could resume.

On 9 October, the Security Council increased the number of UN observers by 40, to 100, to reinforce security and stability in the country during the transitional period. By the April elections, close to 2,000 observers of the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) are expected to be in South Africa.

Other resolutions

On 20 December, the Assembly adopted four additional resolutions *(48/159 A to 48/159 D)* on the elimination of apartheid and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, and another resolution *(48/160)* on the UN Educational Training Programme for Southern Africa.

Among other things, the Assembly: called upon all signatories to the National Peace Accord to recommit themselves to democratic principles, take part in the elections, and resolve outstanding issues by peaceful means only; strongly urged South African authorities to end the ongoing violence; demanded the immediate release of remaining political prisoners; and appealed for increased international humanitarian and legal assistance to apartheid victims.

The Security Council on 23 November welcomed the successful completion on 17 November of the multiparty negotiating process in South Africa, and agreements reached therein on an interim constitution and electoral bill which, it said, constituted a "historic step forward" in establishing a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

UN Photo 184655/J. Bu

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President of the Inkatha Freedom party, at UN Headquarters in New York on 9 November.

Crowning achievement

On 18 November, the Secretary-General applauded the agreement on an interim constitution for the country's transition to democracy which, he said, "crowns three years of very difficult negotiations". He congratulated all South Africans who supported the peace process despite "many impediments" amid mounting violence and intimidation. The UN was ready to assist in the "formidable challenges that lay ahead", including the country's first multi-party democratic elections.

The interim constitution will serve as South Africa's supreme law, until a permanent constitution is adopted by a constituent assembly to be elected in its first "one-person-one-vote" elections in April. That document—a culmination of years of negotiations—is to guarantee fundamental rights, including the right to vote, for all South Africans, regardless of race.

In a statement *(S/26785)* by Council President José Luis Jesus of Cape Verde, the 15-member body urged all parties in South Africa, including those which did not participate fully in the multiparty talks, to respect agreements reached during the negotiations, recommit themselves to democratic principles, take part in the elections, and resolve outstanding issues by peaceful means only.

The Council considered that South Africa's transition to democracy must be underpinned by economic and social reconstruction and development, and called on the international community to assist in that regard.

On 16 December, Lakhdar Brahimi, former Algerian Foreign Minister, was named the Secretary-General's Special Representative for South Africa.

The Special Committee against Apartheid, also on 18 November, expressed the hope that parties which had suspended participation in negotiations would continue to participate in a peaceful dialogue within the multiparty process and take part in the electoral process. It asked parties to refrain from acts that would jeopardize South Africa's first non-racial election.

The Special Committee shared the hopes of all South Africans for a peaceful transition to a non-racial and democratic society.

The Secretary-General, in Maputo, Mozambique in mid-October, conducted a series of meetings with, among others, South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Clarence Makwetu, President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), John Hall, Chairperson of the National Peace Committee, and Anthony Gildenhuys, Chairperson of the National Peace Secretariat.

Nobel Prize

On 15 October, it was announced that the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize would be awarded to South African President F. W. de Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela. The Prize was presented on 10 December at a ceremony in Oslo, Norway.

The Secretary-General applauded "those two courageous leaders" who were working together, along with the people of South Africa, to eradicate the evil of apartheid.

General Assembly President Insanally said the two statesmen had the "vision and determination to move towards a democratic and non-racial government in South Africa through the process of dialogue and negotiations".

Special Committee Chairman Gambari said the award was "an encouragement to those who have the moral strength, steadfastness and generosity to overcome the deep wounds of oppression inflicted by apartheid in order to seek reconciliation and to build a new future of justice, dignity and prosperity for all South Africans".

The 1993 recipients join two other South African Nobel Peace laureates—former ANC President Albert Luthuli and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. ■

'Fundamental review' of UNOSOM II follows violence

Council creates Commission of Inquiry

UN Photo 186231/M. Grant

The Secretary-General, shown here with UN troops in Baidoa, was asked to review the mandate of UNOSOM II, in the wake of continuing violence.

The 30,000-strong UN Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II) was at a "critical juncture", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported on 12 November, following five months of violent confrontation between international peace-keepers and an armed Somali faction in Mogadishu, Somalia's capital.

After intense street fighting on 3 October left 18 American soldiers dead, the United States announced its intention to withdraw all its troops from Somalia by 31 March 1994. Some other nations said they too would withdraw troops from Somalia.

Following those developments, the Security Council on 18 November decided to undertake a fundamental review of the UNOSOM II mandate by 1 February 1994. Mr. Boutros-Ghali was asked to provide an "updated plan" setting out a future strategy for UNOSOM II with regard to humanitarian, political and security activities.

On 16 November, by adopting resolution 885 (1993), the Council authorized the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry to investigate armed attacks on UNOSOM II personnel which led to casualties among them.

On 24 November, Mr. Boutros-Ghali appointed three Commission members: Matthew S. W. Ngulube, Chief Justice of Zambia, as Chairman; retired General Emmanuel Erskine of Ghana; and General Gustave Hagglund of Finland.

Pending completion of the Commission's report, the Secretary-General was requested to suspend arrest actions against those who might be implicated in the 5 June street ambush that cost 24 Pakistani peace-keepers their lives, and to make appropriate provision to deal with the situation of those already detained.

On 6 June, the Council had condemned what it called the "premeditated" attacks launched by forces apparently belonging to the United Somali Congress/Somali National Alliance (USC/SNA), led by Gen. Mohamed Farah Aidid. In resolution 837 (1993), it also reaffirmed that UNOSOM II was authorized to take "all necessary measures" against the perpetrators, including arresting, prosecuting and punishing them. The Secretary-General was asked to inquire into the 5 June ambush, with particular emphasis on the role of factional leaders involved.

On 24 August, an independent expert who investigated the incident reported that a "large and complex

UN Photo 159861/M. Grant

Dramatic reminder: A battle-damaged Mogadishu building. If the national reconciliation process breaks down, Somalia could revert to civil war, the Secretary-General warned.

body of evidence" supported the claim that Gen. Aidid had not only the means, motive and opportunity to perpetrate such a crime, but that "he had that trinity uniquely".

Of 740 Somalis detained by UNOSOM II and the United States Quick Reaction Force for their alleged involvement in attacks against peacekeepers, 698 had already been released, the Secretary-General reported on 12 November.

Resolution 886: Mandate renewal

By unanimously adopting resolution 886 (1993) on 18 November, the Council renewed the mandate of UNOSOM II until 31 May 1994. (On 29 October, by resolution 878 (1993), the mandate had been extended until 18 November.)

The Council reminded all parties in Somalia, including movements and factions, that continued UN involvement "depended on their active cooperation and tangible progress towards a political settlement".

It urged the Somali parties to accelerate their efforts to achieve political reconciliation, peace and security, and to abide immediately by cease-fire and disarmament agreements reached in Addis Ababa on 8 January and 27 March. Those agreements established a sound basis for resolution of the problems in Somalia, the Council said.

The 15-member body emphasized the "crucial importance" of disarmament in achieving lasting peace and stability throughout Somalia. It expressed concern at the destabilizing effects of cross-border arms flows in the region, and called for their cessation. States were asked to implement fully the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia, imposed by the Council on 23 January 1992.

Also in resolution 886, the Council condemned the continuing acts of violence and armed attacks against persons engaged in humanitarian and peace-keeping efforts, and paid tribute to the troops and humanitarian personnel killed or injured in Somalia.

UN Photo 184321/J. Bu

The operation in Somalia is considered one of the most difficult undertakings of the UN. *Above*, the Secretary-General *(right, centre)* met with United States Marine Corps General Joseph Hoar *(left)* in October, a few days after 18 Americans lost their lives in Mogadishu.

It stressed the commitment of the international community to continue helping Somalia in its efforts to achieve national reconstruction and regain a normal, peaceful life.

It recalled that UNOSOM II's highest priority continued to be to support the efforts of the Somali people in promoting the process of national reconciliation and the establishment of democratic institutions.

The Council also:

- Supported ongoing diplomatic efforts to assist the UN in bringing all Somali parties to the negotiating table;
- Underscored the importance of the Somali people attaining specific goals regarding political reconciliation, in particular the early establishment of all district and regional councils and an interim national authority;
- Stressed the importance of establishing an operational police, penal and judiciary system as soon as feasible; and
- Commended the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, Admiral Jonathan Howe, and UNOSOM II personnel for their achievements in improving the conditions of the Somali people and in promoting national reconciliation and reconstruction of the country.

In Council debate, the United States said the UN Operation in Somalia was "one of the most difficult the Organization has had to confront" and had required sacrifices by many States. By passing resolution 886, the Council had demonstrated that it would not abandon Somalia, but the Somali people had to show the will and the courage to bring about true national reconciliation.

"If they are prepared to make this investment in their future, UNOSOM and the international community stand ready to give their every assistance. But if they cannot work together to solve their own problems, they cannot expect the United Nations to do it for them", the United States added.

Djibouti, a neighbouring State and a Council member, hoped that regional diplomatic efforts, led by President Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia, combined with UN efforts, would bring all parties to the negotiating table: "Somali society, which is extensively fragmented, needs to overcome its lingering ills quickly, before the pervasive international good will and patience begin to show irreversible wear and tear."

Violence, withdrawals

The Secretary-General on 12 November reported *(S/26738)* that UNOSOM II's record of general progress throughout most of Somalia had been "seriously marred" by incidents which took place between 5 June and 3 October.

The American forces, after apprehending 24 USC/SNA supporters suspected of complicity in the 5 June attack on Pakistani peace-keepers,

A critical juncture

UN Photo 159801/M. Grant

The lives of UNOSOM II troops were not to be put "on the line in pursuit of what is perceived to be a somewhat distant and ill-defined objective", the Secretary-General said.

came under concentrated fire in and around the building they had targeted on 3 October. Eighteen American soldiers lost their lives and 75 more were wounded.

One American helicopter pilot was captured and subsequently released 11 days later, on 14 October, along with a detained Nigerian peace-keeper.

The bodies of the United States soldiers—some of which had been mutilated and dragged through the streets of Mogadishu—"were treated in a most despicable and humiliating manner", the Secretary-General stated. He also regretted that a large number of Somalis lost their lives and that "gangs" had used women and children as "human shields" while attacking UNOSOM II personnel.

Following those events, the United States reinforced its Quick Reaction Force—deployed in support but not part of UNOSOM II. United States President Bill Clinton announced his intention to withdraw his country's forces by 31 March 1994.

"These incidents challenged the cause of disarmament and reconciliation in Somalia, created a situation of instability in South Mogadishu, and stimulated factional elements elsewhere to prepare for a future of renewed fighting", the Secretary-General said.

He was conscious that the international community could not "take for granted forever the generosity of the troop-contributing countries, their readiness to put the lives of their sons and daughters on the line in pursuit of what is perceived to be a somewhat distant and ill-defined objective".

He said that in evaluating options for UNOSOM II in the near future, account must be taken of recent developments, the most significant being the impending withdrawal of United States troops. The Governments of Belgium, France and Sweden had also said they would withdraw from UNOSOM II.

As UNOSOM II depended primarily on the United States for logistics support, its departure would create a vacuum, he stated. He invited 42 States to participate or expand their contribution to the UN operation.

In his report, the Secretary-General presented three options for the future mandate of UNOSOM II. The Council, he said, might have to choose between them "fairly soon".

The first was essentially to maintain the present mandate, as laid out in Council resolution 814 (1993) establishing UNOSOM II.

Under that option, UNOSOM II would not initiate coercive methods of disarmament, but if the USC/SNA tried to block its movements in Mogadishu or if UN forces were attacked, UNOSOM would retaliate and retain the necessary capability for coercive disarmament. Should the Council choose that option, it should retain the current troop strength—29,284 as of 12 November—and deploy an additional brigade.

Under the second option, UNOSOM II would use force only in self-defence, in accordance with traditional peace-keeping practices, and disarmament would be entirely voluntary. Troop requirements would be about 16,000.

Under option three, the mandate would be limited to controlling airports and ports in Mogadishu and other important areas, to keep supply routes open for humanitarian purposes. That option would emphasize operations in the regions, as opposed to securing Mogadishu, thus requiring a much smaller force of about 5,000.

Theoretically, there could be a fourth alternative, the Secretary-General added: complete withdrawal

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON SOMALIA . . .

To re-establish a functioning state in Somalia, the United Nations has sought to address the underlying cause of the crisis. While everyone has seen the images of unrest on the streets of south Mogadishu, most people do not see the images of peace and reconciliation that prevail elsewhere in Somalia. They do not see the rebuilding and reconstruction. They do not know what the United Nations presence means to Somalia, or how much that presence has enabled Somalis to accomplish. In Baidoa, in Bardhera, in Belet, in Marka, and elsewhere, we have shown that collective action can be an active force for good, and not merely a defensive shield against evil. Starvation has ceased. Schools are beginning to function again. Children are being vaccinated against disease. District and regional councils are now in operation. And once again there is hope.

—9 November 1993, New York

from Somalia. However, he rejected that possibility. "The international community must not abandon Somalia in view of the incontrovertible desire of the Somali people for the continued presence of UNOSOM II in their country", he stated. "Total withdrawal would not be a responsible act."

The Secretary-General, also in his 12 November report, welcomed the declaration of a unilateral cessation of hostilities by USC/SNA on 9 October, which "initially led to somewhat reduced tensions" in Mogadishu. However, threats by Gen. Aidid, followed by a demonstration and gunfire on 8 November aimed at preventing American and UNOSOM II humanitarian and security operations in the city, had raised "serious questions about USC/SNA's sincerity".

To build on the unilateral cessation, the Secretary-General reported that UNOSOM II had established a Mogadishu Security Advisory Committee to which all factions were invited. USC/SNA boycotted the Committee meetings, except for one when its representative spoke against UNOSOM II and then left. In spite of such setbacks, the Secretary-General said UNOSOM II would "persevere in its efforts to establish a dialogue with USC/SNA".

UN Photo 186234/M. Grant

Talks have continued with all parties involved. *Above*, the Secretary-General with community elders in Baidoa.

The Secretary-General warned that it was possible that the national reconciliation process might not succeed. "In such an eventuality, the probability of a resumption of civil war in Somalia would be high." There were already reports, although not fully confirmed, of additional supplies of weapons entering Somalia.

UN efforts at encouraging Somali reconciliation was not limited to reaching out to USC/SNA in Mogadishu. UNOSOM II officials also met with leaders of sub-clans in the capital and outlying regions.

Failed talks

Representatives of two major alliances—the Group of 12 and the Somali National Alliance (SNA)—met to discuss their outstanding disputes from 2 to 11 December at a political meeting in Addis Ababa, held at the invitation of the Ethiopian Government and with the support of UNOSOM II.

The factional representatives failed to agree on a structure for face-to-face talks between their chairmen, and the initiatives unfortunately were not successful, the Secretary-General reported *(S/1994/12)*.

Among the divisive issues was whether or not the UN should play a role in the national reconciliation process—SNA preferred the involvement of regional powers, while the Group of 12 wanted a UN role and UNOSOM II to remain in Somalia. There were also sharp differences over the status of district and regional councils, with SNA calling for a fundamental review of their mandate.

SNA also complained that the UN was instigating the Group of 12 into excluding it from the national reconciliation process.

At a meeting in Mogadishu from 13 to 18 December, the Group of 12 issued a resolution and an interim plan of action which called for a permanent contact group to hold a dialogue with SNA to speed implementation of the Addis Ababa Agreement.

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali visited Africa in October, discussing the Somalia situation with several leaders, including the Presidents of Djibouti, Kenya and Ethiopia, as well as with the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and the Secretaries-General of OAU, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Disarmament, famine

The Secretary-General, in his 12 November report, restated his conviction that "without effective disarmament of all the factions and warlords in Somalia, it would not be possible for the country to enjoy lasting peace and stability".

He also reported that the "most dramatic and visible change" in Somalia was the "enormous success in reducing starvation deaths and conditions of famine in the country today".

The number of refugees returning from camps in Kenya was increasing—about 70,000 Somalis in the Mombasa area had returned by boat. The refugee problem was still huge, as up to 1.7 million people had been forced to leave their homes as a result of the turmoil and the famine in Somalia, which killed an estimated 300,000 people in 1992.

In a 29 October report *(A/48/504)*, the Secretary-General warned that encouraging developments on the humanitarian front could "quickly be reversed" unless increased assistance was provided by the international community. The response to a recent UN appeal for relief and rehabilitation had been "disappointing".

A three-day Fourth Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia—attended by some 140 Somali delegates, as well as representatives of donor Governments, regional organizations, UN agencies and international non-governmental organizations—concluded on 1 December in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, with the signing of a Declaration of goals and principles to be translated into a six-month plan of action.

In resolution 48/201, the Assembly on 21 December asked that Somalia receive international aid in rehabilitating its social and economic services, institution-building, and restoring civil administration to local areas. ■

UNOMIL fully deployed, elections delayed

UNHCR Photo 23117/L. Taylor

The number of Liberian refugees voluntarily returning home has increased. *Above,* Arriving from Guinea.

The UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) was fully deployed by the end of 1993, with more than 300 military observers cooperating with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in implementing a peace agreement between warring Liberian factions.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 13 December recommended that UNOMIL should continue to implement the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council under resolution 866 (1993) of 22 September.

He based his recommendation on some hopeful signs: there had been "no major violations of the cease-fire" in Liberia; there was "every indication" that disarmament would begin shortly; and it seemed possible that the Liberian parties might soon establish a transitional government.

However, it appeared unlikely that the original timetable for elections, scheduled for February/March 1994, would be met. Instead, general and presidential elections could possibly be held in May, a UN-sponsored mission predicted in October.

On 21 December, in resolution 48/197, the Assembly expressed grave concern over the protracted conflict, called for widened international aid for refugees, and asked parties and factions in Liberia to ensure freedom of movement for and safety of UN personnel.

UNOMIL was established on 22 September in the wake of the Cotonou Peace Agreement of 25 July, which aimed to end the three-and-a-half-year civil war in Liberia. The Cotonou Agreement was signed by the leaders of the three main parties to the conflict—the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), and the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO).

In working with ECOWAS forces, known as the Economic Community Military Observer Group (ECOMOG), UNOMIL became the first UN peace-keeping operation established in cooperation with a peace-keeping mission already set up by another organization.

On 13 December, the Secretary-General reported *(S/26868)* on the status of UNOMIL and the political and military situation in Liberia.

At that time, there were 166 UNOMIL military personnel in Liberia from 13 contributing countries, with some 200, including medical and engineering personnel, to be deployed by year's end.

The Chief Military Observer, Major-General Daniel Ishmael Opande of Kenya, appointed on 27 September, arrived in Liberia on 10 October.

A Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee, chaired by the UN, had been an "important confidence-building instrument among the parties", the Secretary-General declared, having successfully investigated and resolved 59 of 99 alleged cease-fire violations; investigations were pending or in progress on 40 other cases.

In the area of political reconciliation, the Liberian parties had made some progress in establishing a transitional government, selecting five members for the Council of State and agreeing on distribution of 13 of 17 cabinet posts. The swearing in of the Council awaited the beginning of disarmament.

Complicating the political picture was the emergence of two new groups—the Liberia Peace Council and the Liberia Defense Force—which had engaged in skirmishes and had not signed the Cotonou Agreement.

The planning and preparation for disarmament and demobilization were "well under way", the Secretary-General said. A public information campaign had been launched, outlining the need for disarmament in order to consolidate the peace process.

Some $5 million had been earmarked to cover the immediate short-term needs of disarmament and demobilization to enable some 54,000 adult combatants and 6,000 child soldiers to give up their arms and return to their homes.

The Cotonou Agreement called for an expansion of ECOMOG with African troops from outside the West African region. A mission led by the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Liberia, Trevor Gordon-Somers, resulted in an agreement from the United Republic of Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe to contribute one battalion each to ECOMOG. ■

Negotiations in Lusaka begin
Further sanctions postponed

The mandate of the UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) was extended on 15 December for three more months, until 16 March 1994, against a backdrop of new talks between the Government of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) in Lusaka, Zambia.

By unanimously adopting resolution 890 (1993), the Security Council decided not to add new measures to the existing oil and arms embargo against UNITA, which went into effect on 25 September under resolution 864.

That text had suggested the imposition of trade and travel restrictions against UNITA personnel, unless a cease-fire was established by 1 November and an agreement reached on full implementation of the May 1991 Peace Accords, signed in Bicesse, Portugal. The proposed added sanctions were postponed in view of the Lusaka talks, the Council stated on 15 December.

By resolution 890, the Council also urged an end to all military action immediately, agreement on the establishment of an effective and sustainable cease-fire, and conclusion of a peaceful settlement as soon as possible.

It reaffirmed its willingness to review the UNAVEM II mandate, taking into account any progress made by the Government of Angola and UNITA towards establishing peace.

On 1 November, the Council had decided on an interim postponement of further sanctions against UNITA until 1 December. Full cooperation with the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Alioune Blondin Beye, was asked to resolve the conflict, ensuring delivery of humanitarian assistance and protection of UN and other personnel.

Alioune Blondin Beye
Special Representative for Angola

UNITA accepts election results

Exploratory contacts between Angola and UNITA were held in Lusaka, Zambia, from 25 to 31 October, a month after the sanctions against UNITA took effect. They were followed by substantive talks, beginning on 15 November.

On 27 October, the Secretary-General reported *(S/26644)* that the Lusaka talks had been made possible because both sides had taken positive steps, including UNITA's proclamation of a unilateral cease-fire.

On 3 December, the Secretary-General reported *(S/26872)* progress in the negotiations. UNITA had accepted the validity of the Peace Accords, the outcome of the September 1992 election results, and the Council's demand for immediate troop withdrawal from locations occupied since hostilities resumed after the elections of September 1992.

On 11 December, the parties adopted the general and specific principles, as well as the modalities, including the timetable, relating to all military issues on the agenda at the Lusaka talks.

On 27 December, in a joint statement *(S/1994/18)*, Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States—official observers for the implementation of the 1991 Peace Accords—citing "significant progress" in the Lusaka talks, forecast that remaining issues could be successfully resolved. However, offensive military actions were continuing in several regions, jeopardizing the peace process and humanitarian aid programmes.

On the military front, the Secretary-General reported on 3 December that troop movement and build-up by both sides continued, although fighting was "much less intense" since 21 September.

UNAVEM II military and police observers continued patrols, maintaining extensive contacts with local authorities, supporting humanitarian operations and conducting investigations. The Mission, though its ability to evaluate the military situation was limited, noted that the Government had steadily enlarged the area of the country under its control.

Humanitarian aid

In his 3 December report, the Secretary-General said humanitarian activities had continued to make appreciable progress. Although the non-intensive conflict areas were being supplied by road and air by the UN and non-governmental organizations, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said, human suffering remained extreme, and the infant mortality rate was the highest in the world. The World Food Programme said on 9 December that more than 2 million Angolans would need food aid for the first six months of 1994.

The Assembly on 21 December asked *(resolution 48/202)* for full implementation of the Peace Accords "to bring peace and stability to Angola, thus creating conditions conducive to its economic rehabilitation". ■

Breakthrough reported after Maputo talks
ONUMOZ mandate renewed

The Security Council on 5 November renewed the mandate of the UN Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) for six months. It also authorized Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to proceed with selection and deployment of 128 UN police observers, which had been approved in 1992.

Unanimously adopting resolution 882 (1993), the Council requested the Secretary-General to report regularly on whether the parties had made sufficient progress towards implementing the General Peace Agreement signed in Rome on 4 October 1992 and meeting the revised timetable for holding the elections by October 1994.

In resolution 882, the Council strongly urged the parties not to raise any further issues which might jeopardize the Agreement's implementation and called on the Mozambican Government and the Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO) to build on progress achieved and respect fully all provisions of the Agreement, particularly those concerning the cease-fire and movement of troops.

Commending the agreements reached in direct talks between Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and RENAMO leader Afonso Dhlakama, the Council urged the parties to commence assembly of troops in November and initiate demobilization by January 1994 to ensure completion of the process by May 1994.

The Council wanted: the National Police Affairs Commission and the Commission of Information to be "immediately operational"; approval of an electoral law and establishment of an electoral commission by 30 November; and complete demobilization of troops by 31 May 1994, as well as accelerated progress in training and integrating forces in the Mozambican Defence Forces.

The Council also called for international financial support for the peace process, and speedy repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons.

In another action, the Council, by resolution 879, had on 29 October extended the ONUMOZ mandate until 5 November.

On 1 November, the Secretary-General reported *(S/26666)* that during a recent visit to Maputo (17-20 October), significant progress had been made in removing obstacles impeding the Agreement's implementation. The breakthrough justified a continued UN presence in Mozambique.

In addition to assembly, demobilization, and disarmament issues, the Maputo talks resulted in agreement on composition of the elections commission, the electoral law, other national commissions, and guidelines for the cease-fire commission related to troop movements.

Repatriation of some 1.5 million Mozambicans in six countries—Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe—is currently under way. ■

Demobilized government forces *(right)* heading home. Special Representative Aldo Ajello *(below right)* was in Mozambique for the special ceremony *(below)*, marking the end of a 10-week training course for the new Mozambican army.

UN responds to *coup d'état*, sudden refugee crisis

A bloody *coup d'état* on 21 October in Burundi, in which its President was slain, was condemned by the Security Council, while UN agencies tried to cope with a huge refugee crisis triggered by the coup and subsequent ethnic mass killings.

In a 25 October statement, the Council condemned the military act "against the democratically elected Government of Burundi", and demanded that its perpetrators desist from any action that would "exacerbate tension and plunge the country into more violence and bloodshed, which could have serious implications for peace and stability in the region".

The Council demanded the immediate reinstitution of democracy and constitutional rule in Burundi, and paid tribute to the country's deceased President, Melchior Ndadaye.

On 3 November, in resolution 48/17, the General Assembly "unreservedly" condemned the coup, and demanded the immediate restoration of democracy and the constitutional regime in Burundi. The "perpetrators of the putsch", it said, should lay down their arms and return to their barracks.

In a 16 November statement, the Council reiterated its demand for the "immediate cessation of acts of violence", and expressed alarm at the "grave humanitarian consequences of this tragedy", which had resulted in a massive movement of refugees and internally displaced people.

The Secretary-General was encouraged to consider dispatching a small UN team for fact-finding and advice, with a view to facilitating the efforts of the Government of Burundi and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

UN Photo 184163/J. Isaac

Just 17 days before he was slain, Burundi President Melchior Ndadaye addressed the 48th General Assembly.

UNHCR Photo 23058/B. Press

A massive refugee flow of almost 1 million people has overwhelmed UNHCR relief efforts. Many were dying each day of dysentery, cholera and other diseases.

The General Assembly on 29 October paid tribute to the memory of President Ndadaye, who had addressed the Assembly just 17 days before he was killed, on 4 October.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 25 October condemned the coup and sent Under-Secretary-General James Jonah as his Special Envoy to Burundi to "facilitate the return of the country to constitutional rule". Mr. Jonah left for Burundi on 27 October.

On 2 November, it was reported *(S/26745)* that he had witnessed the "total breakdown of governmental authority in the provinces with many towns and villages deserted, many in flames and hundreds of thousands of the people of Burundi fleeing to neighbouring countries".

Prime Minister Sylvie Kinigi and several ministers informed the Special Envoy that they had no intention of resuming their functions until an international force—about 1,000 strong—was deployed in the country. The commander of Burundi's Army, however, rejected the deployment of an outside force.

Mr. Jonah cited the difficulties the UN was facing in assembling peacekeeping forces for ongoing operations and noted that the request for a large international force would not be considered realistic.

On 28 October, at a regional summit in Kigali convened by the President of Rwanda, the UN and OAU were asked to create an international force to stabilize the situation in Burundi.

Burundi on 4 November asked *(S/26703)* the Council for an international force to "help to dispel mistrust" and reassure refugees that it was safe to return to their homes.

On 18 November, the Secretary-General designated Ahmedou Ould Abdallah as his Special Representative for Burundi, initially for three months, to facilitate the restoration of constitutional rule in the country. ■

Refugee flows, border tension spark early UNAMIR deployment

UNHCR Photo 23057/B. Press

On the border: UN surveillance activities have helped deter clandestine cross-border traffic.

Citing new tensions on Rwanda's borders, the Security Council on 6 January approved early deployment of a second battalion to the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR).

An unexpected, massive flow of Burundese refugees—up to 375,000—into Rwanda, as well as allegations of cross-border military movement, had "taxed" UNAMIR operations, the Secretary-General reported.

In unanimously adopting resolution 893 (1994), the Council strongly urged the two parties to cooperate fully in furthering the peace process, to comply fully with the 4 August 1993 Arusha Peace Agreement, and to establish a broad-based transitional government at the earliest opportunity. Continued support for UNAMIR would depend upon the full implementation of the Arusha Agreement, it was stressed.

UNAMIR's aim is to help implement the Arusha Agreement between the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF).

That Agreement was to end the three-year conflict between the two parties and serve as a blueprint for a transitional period leading up to elections, probably in 1995.

In resolution 893, the Council also expressed concern over violence in Rwanda and the consequences for that country of the 21 October coup in Burundi.

UNAMIR Force Commander Brigadier-General Romeo A. Dallaire of Canada arrived in Kigali, Rwanda's capital, on 22 October, followed a few days later by an advance party of 21 military personnel.

As of 27 December, UNAMIR consisted of 1,260 military personnel from 19 countries. Its peak strength was forecast as 2,548.

On 12 November, Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, former Foreign Minister of Cameroon, was named the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Rwanda.

On 1 November, the Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG II)—deployed by the Organization of African Unity (OAU)—which had been monitoring the cease-fire in the demilitarized zone on Uganda's northern border, was integrated into UNAMIR.

Border mission extended

On 20 December, the mandate of the 81-member UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) was extended for six months by Security Council resolution 891 (1993).

The Secretary-General reported that UNOMUR was a "factor of stability" in the area, and a useful confidence-building mechanism. Established on 22 June 1993, UNOMUR was to monitor the Ugandan side of the border, ensuring that no military assistance reached Rwanda. The Council initially intended to integrate UNOMUR into the new, wider UNAMIR operation. But on 20 December, it declared that such integration was "purely administrative in nature" and would not affect UNOMUR's mandate.

The Assembly on 21 December, adopting resolution 48/211, urged economic, financial, material and technical aid to encourage rehabilitation and sustained development in Rwanda, especially for infrastructures destroyed by war. It also invited aid for refugees, reintegrating soldiers into civil life, mine clearance, and completing the democratic process.

Surveillance activities

On 15 December, the Secretary-General reported *(S/26878)* that UNOMUR's surveillance activities and investigations had been effective "both as a deterrent and as interdiction". Clandestine cross-border traffic had decreased appreciably. Allegations that the RPF was gathering troops on the Ugandan side of the border had not been substantiated, but UNOMUR investigations had helped to defuse border area tensions. ■

Council widens air, arms embargo
Talks on suspects continue

The Security Council on 11 November, by adopting resolution 883 (1993), imposed new sanctions against Libya, widening the air and arms embargo in place since 15 April 1992.

The Council cited Libya's non-compliance with demands that it cooperate with authorities in France, the United Kingdom and the United States in establishing responsibility for the terrorist bombings of commercial airliners in 1988 and 1989.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali held numerous meetings with Libyan authorities regarding the Council's requests, a UN official said on 3 November.

On 6 October, the Secretary-General informed the Council of his discussions with the Libyan Foreign Minister on the surrender of two Libyan nationals, suspects in the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, which claimed 270 lives. Those talks had not been concluded successfully, but Mr. Boutros-Ghali said he would continue his efforts.

The Council had also deplored Libya's apparent lack of cooperation in establishing responsibility for the 1989 bombing of UTA Flight 772 in Niger, in which 171 persons died.

The Council adopted resolution 883 (1993) by a vote of 11 to none, with 4 abstentions (China, Djibouti, Morocco, Pakistan). The new sanctions took effect on 1 December.

UN Photo 184681/M. Grant

United States UN Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright *(centre)* met on 11 November in the Security Council Chamber with families of the victims of the Pan Am 103 bombing.

By the text, the Council specified that all States should freeze funds and financial resources owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by Libyan authorities or any Libyan undertaking.

Those measures did not, however, apply to funds derived from the sale or supply of petroleum or agricultural products originating in Libya, provided that they were paid into separate bank accounts exclusively for those funds.

All States, the Council said, should immediately close Libyan Arab Airlines offices within their territories, and prohibit commercial transactions with that airline. Member States should also prohibit their nationals from: supplying any materials, except emergency equipment, for the construction or maintenance of Libyan airfields; assistance to Libyan aviation personnel; and insurance for Libyan aircraft.

The Council confirmed an earlier decision that all States should significantly reduce the level of staff at Libyan diplomatic posts.

It expressed readiness to consider suspending sanctions if Libya ensured the appearance for trial of those charged with the Lockerbie bombing. It would lift the sanctions when Libya fully cooperated in establishing responsibility for the terrorist actions against the airliners, and ceased all forms of terrorist action or assistance to terrorists, and demonstrate its renunciation of terrorism.

During informal consultations on 10 December, Council members decided to extend the original sanctions against Libya, in place since 15 April 1992.

On 22 November, Libya proposed *(S/26804)* that its investigating counsellor and the French examining magistrate meet urgently to establish procedures for completion of inquiries regarding UTA 772.

Colonel Muammar Qaddafi of Libya on 25 November wrote *(S/26859)* to Pope John Paul II expressing his desire to cooperate in determining the venue for a fair trial, acceptable to the suspects.

In debate, Libya said it wanted a solution in consonance with provisions of the law. It had not extradited the two Lockerbie suspects because that was against Libyan laws. Resolution 883 was an attempt to destroy the Libyan economy and clear proof that the Council did not work on behalf of all UN Members, but "in accordance with the wishes of one or two countries". ■

MIDDLE EAST

Accords welcomed, rapid progress urged

The need for "rapid progress" in continuing Arab-Israeli negotiations in the Middle East was stressed by the General Assembly on 14 December.

In adopting resolution 48/58 by a vote of 155 to 3 (Iran, Lebanon, Syria), with 1 abstention (Libya), the Assembly expressed its full support for the "achievements of the peace process thus far", and urged attention to the "other tracks" of that process.

Hailing the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and the Agreement between Israel and Jordan on the Common Agenda—signed in Washington, D.C., United States, on 13 and 14 September, respectively—the Assembly called the actions an "important initial step in achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East", and urged all parties to implement agreements reached.

As the "first signs of peace" could now be seen in the Middle East, the international community was "duty-bound to lend its full support to peace, its full backing to the proponents of peace and its full encouragement to the Palestinian and Israeli peoples to achieve and maintain peace as a first step leading to others on the road to achieving peace for all the peoples of the region", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated on 29 November, on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People.

On 20 December, the General Assembly reaffirmed the need to achieve a peaceful settlement to the question of Palestine—the "core of the Arab-Israeli conflict"—in all its aspects. In adopting resolution 48/158 D—one of four texts on the question of Palestine *(48/158 A-D)*—the Assembly also stressed impending negotiations on the final settlement and reaffirmed six principles for the achievement of peace: realization of Palestinian legitimate national rights; Israeli withdrawal from occupied Palestinian territory; security arrangements for all States of the region; resolving the Palestinian refugee problem; solution to the Israeli settlements problem; and guaranteeing freedom of access to Holy Places.

Other resolutions adopted covered: Israeli practices affecting human rights in the occupied territories; the work of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East; establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East; economic and social repercussions of the Israeli settlements; and assistance to Palestinian people.

The mandate of the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) was renewed by the Security Council on 29 November for another six months, until 31 May 1994. ■

WESTERN SAHARA

Referendum goal: No later than mid-1994

The Security Council on 6 December supported Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's goal of holding the referendum in Western Sahara no later than mid-1994. The Council President, in a letter *(S/26848)* to the Secretary-General, regretted that the previous timetable, by which the referendum would have been held by the end of 1993, could not be maintained.

The settlement plan, approved by the Council on 27 June 1990 in resolution 658 (1990), calls for organization and supervision of a referendum by the UN, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, in which voters would choose either independence or integration with Morocco.

The Council also welcomed progress already achieved in narrowing differences between Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Rio de Oro (POLISARIO) regarding the criteria for registration.

A compromise proposal contained in the Secretary-General's 24 November report *(S/26797)* was a sound framework for determining potential participation in the referendum, the Council said.

The proposal stated that "the potential electorate encompass members of all the Saharan tribal subfractions, but only those, which were represented in the 1974 census, regardless of the number of individuals from these subfractions who were counted in the 1974 census". All applicants for participation in the referendum would have to cross this first hurdle before claiming eligibility to vote under any of the pertinent criteria, it was specified. The census was conducted by Spanish authorities.

The proposal, said the Secretary-General, was a sound point of departure for determining potential participation in the referendum, in the absence of a precise and undisputed definition of a "people of Western Sahara". POLISARIO, he stressed, which did not agree with that compromise, remained concerned about the possible inclusion in the electorate of members of some tribal units which it did not consider as existing in the Territory.

Morocco and POLISARIO had been scheduled to resume direct talks in New York on 25 October; however, the presence of former POLISARIO officials in the Moroccan delegation was not considered by POLISARIO to be conducive to a propitious climate for dialogue, and the meeting did not take place as scheduled. ■

A 'terrible war' rages on

International Tribunal begins work

UN Photo 184689

The 11-member International Tribunal for Crimes in the former Yugoslavia was inaugurated at the Peace Palace in The Hague, Netherlands, on 17 November.

The devastating conflict in the former Yugoslavia—which UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali lamented had "spared no one in its violence"—remained, towards the end of 1993, the focus of peacemaking and humanitarian efforts by the UN and the international community.

Another positive international move was the convening for the first time in November 1993 of the new International Tribunal for Crimes in the former Yugoslavia.

Central to finding a solution to the crisis and setting a "new course towards peace and reconciliation" was an end to fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the UN Protected Areas (UNPAs) in Croatia, the Secretary-General said in a message to the 29 November meeting in Geneva of the Foreign Ministers of the European Union, the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, and the parties to the Bosnian conflict.

All the techniques of diplomacy, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building, Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated, were at the parties' disposal, "if they can only show the political will to end this terrible war and make it possible for the international community to help them re-establish peace and prosperity in their lands".

It was hard to believe, he said, that Bosnians were being made to "endure another winter of war" when their leaders had reached agreement "on all issues but one" concerning a "small percentage of territory". It was time for the leadership of all sides in Bosnia to "reach out to one another in a spirit of compromise", as "entrenched positions entail costs for everyone", while flexibility would lead to "cooperation for mutual advantage and to international understanding and support".

Throughout October, November and December, the Steering Committee Co-Chairmen—Thorvald Stoltenberg and Sir David Owen—continued contacts with the parties, trying to build upon an agreement negotiated aboard the United Kingdom's *HMS Invincible* in the Adriatic Sea, off Croatia on 20 September. The package, which had been rejected by the Bosnian Assembly, provided for a constitutional agreement on a Union of the three Republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the Muslim-majority Republic having no less than 30 per cent of the Union's entire territory.

A possible territorial exchange between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia—so that Bosnian Muslims could have an outlet to the sea in a deep-water area—was specifically addressed during the talks.

Between 5 October and 31 December, the Security Council met, either formally or in consultations, on three occasions to discuss the former Yugoslavia, adopting one resolution and issuing three statements.

Concerned with the continuing

hostilities, the General Assembly adopted resolution 48/88 on 20 December, urging the Council to exempt Bosnia and Herzegovina from the arms embargo imposed on the former Yugoslavia under its resolution 713 (1991). The vote was 109 to none, with 57 abstentions.

The Assembly also: urged international cooperation with Bosnia and Herzegovina in "exercise of its inherent right of individual and collective self-defence"; condemned the continued violation by Serbian forces of the international border between Bosnia and Croatia; and asked the Council to ensure that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) (Serbia and Montenegro) immediately cease the supply of military arms, equipment and services to Bosnian Serb paramilitary units.

The immediate closing of all detention camps in Serbia and Montenegro and in Bosnia and Herzegovina was asked.

The Bosnian Serb party was told to lift the siege of Sarajevo, other "safe areas" and Bosnian towns, as well as withdraw all its heavy weaponry and forces to a safe distance outside those areas, where they would be monitored by UN military observers. The Assembly demanded that all concerned parties facilitate the "unhindered flow of humanitarian assistance".

Condemning *(48/153)* all human rights violations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro), the Assembly on 20 December also expressed outrage *(48/143)* that the "systematic practice of rape" was being used as a "weapon of war and an instrument of ethnic cleansing against the women and children", particularly Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In another resolution *(48/210)*, the Assembly on 21 December appealed to all States to aid urgently countries adversely affected by the application of sanctions against the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro).

In a 13 October statement *(S/26572)*, the Council condemned the continued "deliberate and unjustified" blocking of the Danube River by two Serbian non-governmental organizations. It also deplored the acquiescence of FRY authorities in those "acts of interference with the river traffic" of several UN Member States. Expressing concern that those authorities continued to impose tolls on transiting foreign vessels, the Council demanded that such action cease immediately.

In resolution 48/204, adopted on 21 December, the Assembly asked for an assessment of needs for the rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of Croatia, with a view to making an international appeal for aid, if appropriate.

'Determined push'

In their "determined push for a peace agreement", extensive discussions with the three Bosnian sides were held in Geneva, Belgrade, Sarajevo and Zagreb, specifically exploring the issue of access to the sea, the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee reported *(S/26922)* on 23 December.

In that regard, the Bosnian Presidency insisted that Neum—Bosnia's only outlet to the Adriatic Sea—be allocated to the Muslim-majority Republic "on a sovereign basis". However, the Bosnian Croats argued that Neum was an "exclusively Croat area". Croatia proposed to accord the Bosnian Muslims and Serbs each a coastal area in the vicinity of the Prevlaka peninsula, but to incorporate Neum in return.

UN Photo 159310/ Isaac

A difficult military stance slowed peace negotiations.

Stating that the proposed port was "too far away" and "too expensive", the Bosnian Presidency then suggested that Neum and a part of Stolac be held by the Muslim-majority and the Bosnian Croat republics "in condominium" or "joint sovereignty". The Croat side agreed to study the offer, "but only in relation to the Isthmus of Klek", not Neum.

By the end of December, agreement existed among all sides that Bosnia and Herzegovina be organized as a Union of three Republics, with the Muslim-majority Republic having 33.3 per cent and the Bosnian Croats 17.5 per cent of the territory, the Co-Chairmen said. Their appeal to observe a "holiday truce" from 23 December to 15 January had also been accepted by the three leaders, who "undertook to give instructions to their military commanders down to the local level to observe the cease-fire faithfully".

In addition, four working groups had been established to deal with: the definition of the Mostar city area that would be placed under the temporary administration of the European Union; technical arrangements for providing the Muslim-majority Republic with road and rail access to Brcko and the Sava river; access to the sea; and territorial delimitation.

Acting in close contact with the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), staff of the International Conference sought to normalize the situation in the UNPAs in Croatia, the Secretary-General stated *(S/26828)* on 1 December. Due account had been taken of the "Peace Initiative" of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. UNPROFOR had helped to develop a "more positive atmosphere for the talks" and reduce tension throughout the UNPAs.

In Council resolution 871 (1993) adopted on 4 October, the Secretary-General had been asked to report within two months on progress towards implementation of the UN peace-keeping plan for Croatia and all relevant Council resolutions, as well as on the outcome of negotiations within the framework of the International Conference. In the light of that report, the Council wanted to review UNPROFOR's mandate.

Although progress was slow in the UN peace-keeping efforts in Croatia—and "quickly halted" if one side

attacked territory held by the other—the Secretary-General did not recommend reconsideration of the Force's mandate.

However, the Secretary-General stated, if the international community's "very substantial" commitment to peacemaking and peace-keeping was to be sustained, the Croatian Government and the Krajina Serbs must intensify their efforts towards achievement of a cease-fire agreement, practical measures of economic cooperation, and a "lasting political settlement". They should also "extend their cooperation to UNPROFOR" in its endeavours to improve conditions in the UNPAs.

Since October, there had been moves in all UNPAs towards achieving local cease-fires, he reported. Those ranged "from a signed, formal cease-fire agreement in Sector East to 'gentlemen's agreements'—oral and unsigned, but implemented—in the other three sectors".

Such local cease-fires—supported in each sector by the establishment of new observation posts, additional patrols by UN military observers, and the installation of "hot lines" with, and between, the two sides—had led to a "discernible reduction in tension and violations" throughout the UNPAs, the Secretary-General said.

At talks throughout November between the parties, a "three-step strategy" had been accepted, dealing with a cease-fire, economic reconstruction, and political questions.

The parties agreed to establish a military Joint Commission to continue practical work on "outstanding areas of dispute on the lines of separation" to be used once the cease-fire was implemented.

'No excuse'

The "magnitude and complexity" of the humanitarian operation in the former Yugoslavia had "increased dramatically" over the last two years, the Secretary-General pointed out *(A/48/690)* on 3 December. That was "illustrated by the numerous appeals" that had been launched—"each with a larger target population and a correspondingly greater appeal total". The most recent, seeking some $700 million in emergency aid for more than 4 million people, was launched by the UN on 8 October.

It was the third major effort in two years to mobilize emergency relief resources for the former Yugoslavia. Although humanitarian aid was "not a substitute for peace", it could "mitigate the cruel effects of war", according to Jan Eliasson, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, and High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata, in a joint introduction to the appeal. Until firm steps were taken in the direction of peace, there was "no recourse but to continue all possible efforts to save the lives of children, women and men now placed at risk by the on-going conflict".

However good the response to the appeals might be, safe and unobstructed delivery of emergency assistance was a matter of growing concern. It was "distressing and shocking" that humanitarian convoys were "blocked from reaching needy people", the Secretary-General stated. There was "no excuse for this kind of behaviour".

Also, deliberate attacks and killings of peace-keeping and humanitarian personnel could not be tolerated, the Secretary-General told the 18 November Humanitarian meeting on Bosnia and Herzegovina, convened in Geneva by the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). So far, 59 UNPROFOR members and 10 humanitarian workers had lost their lives assisting "their fellow human beings" in the former Yugoslavia.

On 12 November, it was reported *(S/26742)* that humanitarian relief convoys had entered Novi Travnik in Central Bosnia on 25 October "unaware that a battle had just begun" between Bosnian and Croatian forces. An UNPROFOR team concluded that the attack on the convoys was deliberate. "With high probability, the responsibility for the attack lies with soldiers of the Bosnian government forces", it stated.

The convoys—suspended on 25 October by the Secretary-General until an investigation of the incident in which a UNHCR staff member was killed and nine UNPROFOR members wounded—were resumed on 19 November.

'Shock, outrage'

Profound shock was expressed by the Security Council over an 8 November incident in which two members of a peace mission to the city of Vares, headed by Archbishop Vinko Puljic of Sarajevo and under UNPROFOR protection, were taken hostage by the Bosnian Serb forces.

On 9 November, the Council called *(S/26717)* the "outrageous act" a "flagrant challenge" to UNPROFOR's authority and inviolability, and demanded the immediate release of the hostages.

In another statement *(S/26716)* on the same day, the 15-member Council demanded that all parties concerned refrain from any action threatening the safety and well-being of civilians. All parties must guarantee "unimpeded access for humanitarian assistance", it said.

On 28 October, Council members "unreservedly condemned" *(S/26661)* the 23 October massacre of civilian population in the village of Stupni Do by Croatian troops, the attacks against UNPROFOR by "armed persons bearing uniforms of the Bosnian Government forces" and a 25 October attack in Central Bosnia on a humanitarian convoy under UNPROFOR protection. "Profound concern" was expressed that "regular and organized armed forces were probably involved". Parties were asked to guarantee the security of personnel responsible for humanitarian assistance.

After the resumption of aid convoys, a UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) truck was attacked on 9 December en route to Sarajevo. A bullet-proof UNICEF car, dispatched to rescue the truck driver, also came under heavy sniper fire. That same day, a health centre building was hit by mortar fire, killing the administrator and four other persons, and wounding 11.

Such attacks deprived children in desperate need of relief supplies,

Another winter of war

UNICEF Executive Director James Grant said on 10 December. "By deliberately targeting UNICEF relief workers clearly recognizable as carrying humanitarian supplies for children, those accountable show cowardice and callousness."

Fuel shortages and difficulties in reaching those in need of emergency food aid in Bosnia and Herzegovina were the "most serious humanitarian problems" in the former Yugoslavia, the World Food Programme reported on 24 November.

'Deterrence, justice, peace'

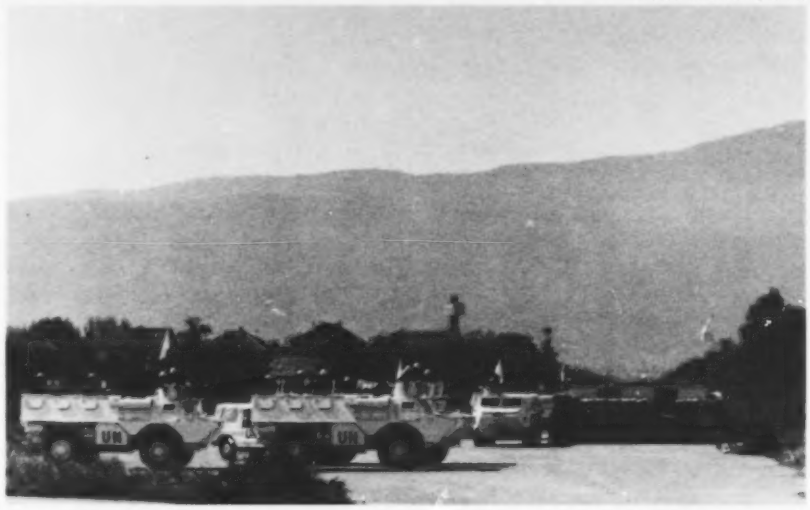
The International Tribunal—the "creation of the international community as a whole"—was to have a "preventive and deterrent effect in a still ongoing conflict" in the former Yugoslavia, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali said in his message to the new body at its first session (17-30 November, The Hague).

In establishing the 11-judge Tribunal, the Security Council had demonstrated its determination to achieve three important goals: "deterrence, justice and peace", the Secretary-General stated. It had sought to put an end to crimes, bring to justice those responsible for those crimes, and break the "seemingly endless cycle of ethnic violence and retribution", thereby contributing to the restoration and maintenance of peace.

Basically, those three goals aimed to "bring an end to this long nightmare of human suffering and tragedy", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stressed. Although persons brought before the Tribunal would be held "individually responsible" for their crimes, the "sword of justice must be equally sharp in enforcing the rule of law and in guaranteeing respect for international standards of human rights and due process".

The new judicial body, which had been established under Council resolution 827 (1993) on 25 May to prosecute persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law, decided to name itself the International Tribunal for Crimes in

UN Photo 159300/J. Isaac



UN Photo 184276/J. Bu

UN Photo 184357/J. Isaac

UN Photo 159245/J. Isaac

To end the war, said Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, only required political will. *Top,* UN armoured vehicles at Sarajevo airport. *Centre left,* Vladislav Jovanovic, Foreign Minister of the FRY, on 6 October in New York. *Centre right,* President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Bottom:* A sign on a bedraggled scarecrow reflects the wish of many war victims.

UN Photo P. Sudhakaran

Yasushi Akashi, new Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia, in Cambodia, where he had served as Special Representative.

the former Yugoslavia. Judge Antonio Cassese of Italy was elected President.

Ramon Escovar-Salom of Venezuela was appointed Tribunal Prosecutor by the Council in resolution 877 (1993) of 21 October.

During its two-week session, the Tribunal also considered proposed rules of procedure and evidence. At two more sessions in 1994 (25 April to 29 July, 19 September to 4 November), it is expected to begin hearing cases.

The Tribunal—the first of its kind to be convened since the end of the Second World War—is one of four key pillars in the UN strategy for dealing with the Yugoslav crisis: peace negotiations, humanitarian assistance, peacekeeping and judiciary action.

War crime experts

Two sessions were held in October and December in Geneva by the five-member Commission of Experts established under Council resolution 780 (1992) to examine information on violations of international humanitarian law in the former Yugoslavia.

At its eighth session (27 October), it reviewed progress made in the investigations in Sectors East and West in Croatia (excavations of mass graves), the Medak pocket in Sector South (acts of ethnic cleansing), and in Dubrovnik (unlawful destruction of cultural property). The Commission elaborated plans to investigate detention camps, torture, extrajudicial executions and mass sexual assault.

Despite assurances from Serb authorities in Knin (UNPA Sector East), the Commission's team of forensic experts had been prevented from investigating the site of a mass grave in Ovcara in eastern Croatia. On 22 October, the expert group was told by the local Serb military to postpone all activities in Ovcara, "until an overall political solution" had been found to the situation in the former Yugoslavia.

At the ninth session (13-15 December), Rapporteur William Fenrick of Canada reported on mass graves and the destruction in Dubrovnik.

On 6 October, the Commission had reported *(S/26545)* on its activities from February to August 1993, among which were database formulation and on-site investigative missions. The database was to assist in Tribunal prosecutions.

Cherif Bassiouni of Egypt was named Commission Chairman on 21 October to succeed Frits Kalshoven of the Netherlands. That vacancy and the one resulting from the death of Torkel Opsahl of Norway in September were filled by Christine Petronella Maria Cleiren of the Netherlands and Hanne Sophie Greve of Norway.

Crimes and abuses of human rights and humanitarian law—including ethnic cleansing, rape, summary executions, arbitrary arrests and detentions, restrictions on freedom of movement, and military attacks on civilians—remained widespread in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, reported *(S/26765)* on 20 November.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the onset of winter presaged a "humanitarian disaster of immense proportions", he reported. Particular attention should be drawn to the "appalling extent of persecution by 'ethnic cleansing' against those of Muslim ethnic origin" who were "threatened with extermination".

In Croatia, causes for deep concern included: discrimination against ethnic Serbs and Muslims; media contribution to the "prevailing climate of inter-ethnic hostility through misinformation and indoctrination"; militarization of the population; the collapse of the rule of law; and the absence of conditions for the repatriation of displaced persons in the so-called "Republic of Serbian Krajina".

With regard to the former Republic of Yugoslavia, the Special Rapporteur was particularly concerned with the "articulation of ethnic hatred in public life and in the media", the ensuing "climate in which acts of discrimination are encouraged and condoned"; and abuse of power by the Serbian police, including reports of the deaths of Albanians as a result of injuries sustained while in police detention in Kosovo.

In an effort to obtain first-hand information on the human rights situation in Yugoslavia, two UN officials undertook a two-week mission in October to Serbia and Montenegro, meeting with Federal Government representatives, non-governmental and international organizations, and individuals.

New Special Representative

Yasushi Akashi of Japan—recently the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Cambodia—was named on 3 December to succeed Thorvald Stoltenberg as Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia and Chief of Mission of UNPROFOR. As Mr. Stoltenberg was "heavily engaged in continuing negotiations", with "insufficient time to carry out in full" his other functions, the Secretary-General felt *(S/26838)* it was "necessary to separate the functions" of Co-Chairman of the Steering Committee and Special Representative.

From 1 October through 31 December, some 279 violations of the ban on military flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina, imposed under Council resolution 816 (1993), were reported—22 more than in July, August and September. That brought to 1,160 the total number of apparent violations since monitoring began in November 1992 under Council resolution 781 (1992). ■

Agreement on confidence-building measures pursued

The Security Council on 15 December extended the stationing of the UN Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) until 15 June 1994, marking the 30th year of the Force's existence.

By resolution 889 (1993), the Council also noted two expert studies on the package of confidence-building measures, welcoming Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's decision to concentrate on achieving an agreement on the package to "facilitate the political process towards an overall settlement".

The confidence-building measures include the reopening of Nicosia International Airport and the fenced area of Varosha, which could boost the island's tourist industry.

The Council hoped for rapid progress in achieving agreement on the package, and welcomed the support from the Government of Turkey. It would also welcome a statement of support from the Government of Greece.

The experts' reports on field work in Cyprus in October and November 1993 were submitted to the Secretary-General on 15 December. He noted in conclusion that the package would yield "significant economic benefits" to both Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Political will needed

Joe Clark, the Secretary-General's Special Representative to Cyprus, in a 16 December press briefing, said that practical measures had been outlined to make the confidence-building measures work. However, the political will to implement them had to be demonstrated.

The Council, in resolution 889 (1993), also reaffirmed that the "status quo is unacceptable" and encouraged the pursuit of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices on the basis of the package, as well as the "Set of Ideas" endorsed by the Council on 26 August 1992.

UN Photo 157799/J. Isaac

A helicopter approaches an UNFICYP outpost in the buffer zone.

The Council also noted the Secretary-General's conclusion that the present circumstances did "not allow for any modification in the structure and strength of UNFICYP".

It called upon the military authorities on both sides to ensure that no incidents occurred along the buffer zone, and urged a significant reduction in defence spending and in the number of foreign troops in Cyprus "to help restore confidence between the parties and as a first step towards the withdrawal of non-Cypriot forces".

The military authorities, the Council said, should begin discussions with UNFICYP on prohibiting live ammunition or weapons other than hand-held ones along the cease-fire lines, as well as the firing of weapons within sight or hearing of the buffer zone.

A shrinking UNFICYP

The strength of UNFICYP had fallen from 2,132 in December 1990 to 1,203, the Secretary-General reported on 22 November *(S/26777)*.

The Force was covering the cease-fire lines more thinly than before, and "its capacity to react to incidents (on average 90 per month) and to prevent them from escalating has been affected".

The Force Commander and the Secretariat, he went on, had concluded that a number of arguments continued to weigh heavily against using large numbers of unarmed military observers in UNFICYP. There was no clear agreement between the two sides on the delineation of the cease-fire lines or about what was permitted under the cease-fire.

An alternative option of dividing UNFICYP functions between infantry and military observers was examined, but was not recommended by the Secretary-General.

"While UNFICYP has successfully kept the peace, the resulting opportunity has not been used properly by the two sides to reach an overall agreement", he said.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali intended to resume contact with the Governments of Turkey and Greece, as well as the two sides in Cyprus, after the Turkish Cypriot elections on 12 December 1993.

On 5 October, he met with President Glafcos Clerides of Cyprus. They discussed the importance of maintaining the momentum in the Secretary-General's good offices mission, with particular emphasis on the confidence-building measures. ■

Conflicts, instability continue

Armed confrontations, civil disturbances and ensuing economic chaos persisted towards the end of 1993 in some former Soviet republics—especially Armenia, Azerbaijan and Tajikistan—jeopardizing their political stability and regional security, and seriously aggravating the overall humanitarian situation. From October through December, the UN continued its monitoring and mediation efforts in the newly independent States, acting through its interim offices—established in 1992 in seven countries—and special missions sent to conflict zones.

Following is an overview of some recent developments *(for report on Georgia, see p. 69)*.

Armenia, Azerbaijan

Expressing serious concern that continuing conflict in and around Nagorny Karabakh—an Armenian-populated enclave in Azerbaijan—would endanger peace and security in the region, the Security Council on 12 November demanded from the parties concerned the "immediate cessation of armed hostilities and hostile acts".

In unanimously adopting resolution 884 (1993), it also demanded the "unilateral withdrawal of occupying forces" from the Zangelan district, the city of Goradiz and other recently occupied areas of Azerbaijan.

Welcoming the 4 November Declaration of the Minsk Group of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which contained proposals for unilateral cease-fire declarations, the Council strongly urged the parties to "resume promptly and to make effective and permanent" the cease-fire established with the assistance of the Russian Federation in support of the Minsk Group. It also urged them to continue to seek a negotiated settlement within the Minsk process.

Armenia was called upon to use its influence to achieve compliance with previous Council resolutions by the Armenians of Nagorny Karabakh, and to "ensure that the forces involved are not provided with the means to extend their military campaign further".

On 14 October, the Council had called for immediate implementation of the Minsk Group's "adjusted timetable of urgent steps" to implement Council resolutions 822 (1993) and 853 (1993), including withdrawal of forces from occupied territories and "removal of all obstacles to communications and transportation".

In unanimously adopting resolution 874 (1993), the Council also called for "unimpeded access for international humanitarian relief efforts in all areas affected by the conflict", urging the parties to refrain from violations of international law.

Tajikistan

The small team of UN officials—five international and seven local staff—in Tajikistan should continue to perform their functions "until a decision is taken on the proposal to establish an integrated office", Security Council members recommended *(S/26794)* on 23 November. They also welcomed continuing CSCE efforts, encouraging closer coordination between the UN and the CSCE.

On 14 November, the Secretary-General reported *(S/26743)* that developments in Tajikistan gave grounds "both for hope for a political solution of the conflict and for serious concern at the risk of further deterioration of the situation". The Tajik Government and all major opposition groups should start a "serious process of negotiation without further delay".

The situation was especially difficult on the Tajik-Afghan border, it was reported. "Cross-border infiltration" by armed opposition groups from Afghanistan and fighting between them and government forces, as well as those of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), occurred on a "daily basis". Armed confrontation was intensifying inside the country, particularly in the Khatlon and Gorno-Badakhshan regions.

The Secretary-General warned that "instability could spill into neighbouring countries". He hoped the 24 September Moscow Accord on placing CIS coalition peace-keeping forces in Tajikistan could contribute to achieving "early agreement on political dialogue, cessation of hostilities and national reconciliation".

Ismat Kittani, the Secretary-General's Special Envoy for Tajikistan, on 3 January was named Special Political Adviser to the Secretary-General. Ramiro Piriz-Ballon of Uruguay had succeeded him as Special Envoy. [Mr. Kittani was to continue to oversee developments in the States of the former Soviet Union.]

Other matters

Welcoming the withdrawal of the military forces of the Russian Federation from Lithuania, the General Assembly on 15 November, in resolution 48/18, called on the States concerned to conclude without delay agreements for the "early, orderly and complete withdrawal of foreign military forces", including timetables for their departure, from Estonia and Latvia.

Early in 1994, three CIS countries—Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia—faced especially serious food supply problems, with nearly 1 million people needing emergency food assistance, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO) reported on 21 December. Tajikistan and neighbouring Afghanistan also experienced serious food shortages. ■

'Remarkable collaboration'
UNOMIG extended, enlarged

UN Photo 184638/M. Grant

The Security Council approving the extension of UNOMIG on 4 November.

In what the Secretary-General called "encouraging progress towards lasting peace in the area", a Memorandum of Understanding between the Georgian and the Abkhaz sides was signed on 1 December in Geneva, in the presence of representatives of the UN, the Russian Federation and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The Secretary-General's Special Envoy for Georgia, Edouard Brunner, said on 2 December that the accord resulted from a "remarkable collaborative effort" between the UN and the Russian Federation.

Encompassing three vital areas—political, humanitarian and war damage issues—the Memorandum included major commitments by the parties towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict: not to use force or the threat of force against each other for the period of continuing negotiations; to exchange prisoners of war and assist in finding those missing before 20 December; and to create conditions for the return of hundreds of thousands of refugees, as well as to return occupied homes and properties.

The parties also appealed to the international community to assist in promoting humanitarian assistance and economic recovery, and to increase the number of international observers and the use of peacekeeping forces in the conflict zone.

The Security Council on 22 December authorized the phased deployment of up to 50 additional UN military observers to the UN Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), established under Council resolution 858 (1993) of 24 August.

In unanimously adopting resolution 892 (1993), the Council also noted the plan for a further expansion of UNOMIG if the situation so warranted.

On 4 November, the Council had approved UNOMIG's "continued presence" until 31 January 1994. By unanimously adopting resolution 881 (1993), it also ruled that UNOMIG, comprising five military observers plus a minimal support staff, would maintain contact with both parties and military contingents of the Russian Federation, and would monitor and report on developments relevant to UN efforts for a comprehensive political settlement.

The situation in and around the Black Sea region of Abkhazia significantly worsened when the Abkhaz side began a new offensive on 16 September. By the end of the month, it had regained control over the region's capital of Sukhumi and all other areas held by Georgian government forces.

Stability threatened

The Security Council on 19 October demanded that all parties to the conflict must "refrain from the use of force and from any violations of international humanitarian law".

In unanimously adopting resolution 876 (1993), it also stated that continuation of the conflict in Abkhazia threatened the "peace and stability in the region", and called on all States to "prevent the provision from their territories or by persons under their jurisdiction of all assistance, other than humanitarian assistance, to the Abkhaz side", particularly the supply of any weapons and munitions.

Numerous and serious human rights violations had been committed in Abkhazia since the outbreak of the armed conflict on 14 August 1992, the Secretary-General reported *(S/26795)* on 17 November.

The mission, which visited the area from 22 to 30 October, was "deeply concerned at the degree of violence unleashed by this conflict and the resulting devastation", he stated.

In order to restore human rights in Abkhazia, the Secretary-General recommended, among other things, that the following should be done:

- carrying out investigations into all human rights abuses, with those responsible "prosecuted and sanctioned";
- granting compensation to the victims or their families;
- ensuring that security forces fully respect human rights; and
- ensuring law and order by those in control of the territory, with property rights, as well as the right of displaced persons to return to Abkhazia, fully guaranteed.

Although UNOMIG's mandate had been "invalidated by the military developments of 16-27 September", there were "benefits to be drawn" from its continued presence in the area, the Secretary-General reported *(S/26646)* on 27 October. The Mission was "visible evidence to the population of international concern".

An appeal for emergency humanitarian assistance to Georgia, "where the continuing disorder has led to mass suffering" and threatened to worsen the humanitarian situation in the neighbouring States of Azerbaijan and Armenia, was made by the Security Council on 8 November *(S/26706)*.

On 3 December, a UN inter-agency consolidated appeal was launched to meet the emergency needs of 250,000 persons, including those displaced and returnees. ■

'Most complex' weapons inspection uncovers no violations

After completing its "largest, most complex" inspection, the Special Commission on Iraqi disarmament reported on 8 November that it had found no weapons prohibited under Security Council resolution 687 (1991).

Eighty-five inspectors from nine countries undertook the Commission's nineteenth ballistic missile inspection, visiting more than 30 sites between 30 September and 30 October. The team investigated possible caches of banned weapons and verified Iraqi declarations on its past weapons programmes and activities. Using state-of-the-art technology, including ground-penetrating radar mounted on specially-adapted helicopters, it surveyed sites in central, northern and western Iraq.

The Commission, in a report *(S/26910)* on activities from 14 June to 14 December, said Iraq had provided "all the support requested" by the inspection team.

However, the Commission's twelfth chemical weapons inspection team reported that Iraq refused a demand to interview army personnel near the site of an alleged chemical attack.

Inspectors, nevertheless, concluded on-site work on 21 November, finding no immediate evidence of chemical weapons use. The team collected soil, water, flora and fauna samples for laboratory analysis.

By mid-December, the Commission's Chemical Destruction Group completed its large-scale destruction of Iraq's stock of 155-millimetre mustard-agent-filled artillery shells. The Group expected to complete its work by mid-1994.

The International Atomic Energy Agency's (IAEA) twenty-second nuclear inspection team completed a two-week mission in Iraq from 1 to 15 November, reporting *(S/1994/31)* that the "inspection ran smoothly and the Iraqi side was helpful throughout". The team of 17 inspectors from nine nations conducted monitoring inspections at eight "core" sites of the former Iraqi nuclear programme.

It collected surface water along the Tigris-Euphrates watersheds, as part of a periodic radiometric survey. It verified equipment declarations and data on Iraqi centrifuge activities.

Detailed microscopic examinations were performed on nuclear material declared to have originated in Brazil. "Further corroboration will be sought with the assistance of the Brazilian Government", the report stated.

> "Iraq, for the first time, provided details on suppliers of critical equipment for chemical weapons production"

During a second round of high-level talks under Commission and IAEA auspices in Baghdad in early October, Iraq handed over a "detailed account of its chemical weapons production in the past and, for the first time, details on the suppliers of critical equipment".

In a further round (New York, 15-30 November), the Commission deemed that information "credible", stating it would do its best to verify the information as soon as possible. However, Iraq had to supplement and revise its declarations so that they conformed with the "full, final and complete disclosures" required under Council resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991), the report stated.

On the basis of revised declarations, the Commission was to draw up a list of sites to be subject to baseline inspections. In addition, a mechanism was needed to monitor imports and exports.

Despite headway on inspections and weapons destruction, border skirmishes persisted. On 23 November, the Security Council expressed serious concern over recent violations of the Iraq-Kuwait boundary. According to the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM), large numbers of Iraqi nationals had crossed the boundary illegally. The Council demanded that Iraq "respect the inviolability of the international boundary".

Iraq responded *(S/26712)* that its border and airspace had been violated by the United States "for purposes of reconnaissance and provocation", and that Kuwaiti nationals near the border had fired shots towards Iraq.

The General Assembly, in adopting resolution 48/144 on 20 December by a vote of 116 to 2 (Iraq, Sudan), with 43 abstentions, strongly condemned massive violations of human rights in Iraq, including arbitrary executions and arrests, particularly in the northern region. It also decried the practice of torture, the suppression of freedom of thought and expression, and Iraq's failure to respect the economic rights of the population.

Max van der Stoel, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation in Iraq, on 23 November said that by late November, Iraq's repeated violations of human rights had become so serious that the UN needed to consider stationing international human rights monitors on the Iraq-Kuwaiti border. ■

UNTAC withdrawal virtually complete
Liaison team dispatched

UN Photo 186055

By mid-November, nearly all UNTAC personnel had been withdrawn. Prince Norodom Ranariddh *(at right, behind name plate)*, First Prime Minister of Cambodia, at a 5 October Security Council meeting stressed the importance of continued international support for the consolidation of peace and democracy in Cambodia.

UN Photo 684269

The Security Council on 4 November decided to establish a team of 20 unarmed military liaison officers for a single six-month period to report on matters affecting security in Cambodia.

In unanimously adopting resolution 880 (1993), the Council decided to extend the period of withdrawal to 31 December 1993 for elements of the military police and medical components of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), and to 30 November for UNTAC's Mine Clearance and Training Unit. Except for those units, UNTAC's military component withdrew by 15 November.

At its peak, UNTAC military strength had reached 16,000. The civilian police, which had numbered 3,550, had withdrawn before the military. Extensions were needed to ensure the safety of UNTAC personnel and equipment as they completed the withdrawal, due to deteriorating security conditions, including theft of UNTAC vehicles and other property, the Secretary-General had reported *(S/26649/Add.1)* on 27 October.

To be based in Phnom Penh, the new military liaison team would be in close touch with the Government and the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces on matters affecting Cambodia's security, including residual military matters relating to the 1991 Agreement on Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, known as the Paris Agreements.

In place on 15 November, the team has members from Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, China, France, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Poland, the Russian Federation, Thailand and Uruguay. Col. A.N.M. Muniruz Zaman of Bangladesh is Chief Military Liaison Officer.

The Council, in resolution 880, also demanded the cessation of all illegal acts of violence on whatever grounds and of military activities against the Cambodian Government and other UNTAC and international personnel. Respect for international humanitarian law was asked, with the Council welcoming the commitment of the First Prime Minister, Prince Norodom Ranariddh, to implement relevant provisions of the new Cambodian Constitution. Member States were urged to support de-mining work.

On 5 October, Security Council President Ronaldo Mota Sardenberg of Brazil expressed satisfaction at "auspicious developments" in Cambodia since the May elections, in particular proclamation of the Cambodian Constitution on 24 September, creation of the new Government and accession to the throne of King Norodom Sihanouk.

At a meeting attended by First Prime Minister Ranariddh and Second Prime Minister Hun Sen, the President, on the Council's behalf, stressed the importance of continued international support for the consolidation of peace and democracy in Cambodia.

The Secretary-General reported on 5 October *(S/26529)* that Cambodia was now a constitutional monarchy, with the official name "The Kingdom of Cambodia". Prince Norodom Sihanouk had been elected King of Cambodia by the Royal Council of the Throne.

The Constitution stated that the King held the throne, but should not hold power. Also, in accordance with the Constitution and the Paris Agreements, the constituent assembly had transformed itself into a legislative assembly. The Constitution further stipulated that the Kingdom of Cambodia should adopt a multi-party, free democratic regime.

On 26 November, Justice Michael Kirby of Australia, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Commission of Jurists, was appointed as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Human Rights in Cambodia. The Cambodian office of the Centre for Human Rights opened on 1 October. ■

UN continues efforts to solve crisis

Condemning the military authorities in Port-au-Prince for failing to comply fully with the 3 July Governors Island Agreement, the Security Council on 15 November reaffirmed its determination to ensure the "full and effective enforcement of current sanctions".

It stated it would "consider strengthening the measures regarding Haiti", if the country's military authorities continued to obstruct full compliance with the Agreement, "thus preventing the restoration of lawful order and democracy".

In a statement *(S/26747)* by its President, José Luis Jesus of Cape Verde, the Council encouraged the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Organization of American States (OAS), to work for the earliest possible return of the joint UN/OAS International Civilian Mission in Haiti (MICIVIH)—established by General Assembly resolution 47/20 B on 20 April 1993. It asked him to continue planning for a possible deployment of a UN Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), "as conditions permit, consistent with the Governors Island Agreement".

On 16 October, the Security Council, in adopting resolution 875 (1993), called for strict implementation of the Haitian embargo, stating it was ready to consider future measures to ensure full compliance.

On 25 October, the Council warned *(S/26633)* it would consider additional measures beyond the oil and arms embargo—reimposed under its resolution 873 (1993)—if the Governors Island Agreement was not fully implemented.

On 30 October, reaffirming its determination to maintain and enforce sanctions against Haiti until commitments under the Agreement were honoured, the Council condemned *(S/26668)* the fact that Commander-in-Chief General Raoul Cédras and the military authorities had "not so far fulfilled their obligations" under that Agreement. If they continued to "interrupt the democratic transition", it would consider strengthening existing sanctions, the Council stated.

UNICEF/Martha Cooper

The Security Council expressed its determination to "minimize the impact of the present situation on the most vulnerable groups" in Haiti, including children.

The Secretary-General reported on 26 November *(S/26802)* that the UNMIH mandate had been "seriously undermined by various developments in Haiti", which, among other things, had "prevented the disembarkation" on 11 October of a UNMIH military contingent from the *USS Harlan County*. As a result, the Mission's advance elements, as well as the bulk of MICIVIH, were withdrawn.

On 15 November, the Security Council also stressed that sanctions imposed in 1993 under resolutions 841, 873 and 875 would remain in force until the Agreement's objectives—including the departure of the Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief, creation of a new police force and return of the democratically-elected President—were fulfilled.

Nevertheless, the Council was determined to "minimize the impact of the present situation on the most vulnerable groups" and called for more humanitarian assistance to the people of Haiti.

The military authorities were fully responsible for the suffering of the Haitian people, the Council stated. It held them responsible for the security of members of the country's legitimate Government of Prime Minister Robert Malval and that of the UN/OAS personnel in Haiti.

In a 10 December letter, Security Council President Li Zhaoxing of China informed *(S/26864)* the Secretary-General that Council members found "no reason" why the UNMIH mandate should not be continued for the full six-month period authorized by resolution 867 (1993).

Resolution 48/27: Renewed support

Support for Haiti's constitutional President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, ousted in a September 1991 coup, and his Prime Minister was affirmed on 6 December by the General Assembly, as it strongly condemned the attempt to replace unlawfully President

Aristide and "all attempts to delay or prevent" his immediate reinstatement.

In adopting resolution 48/27, the Assembly also declared to be unacceptable "any entity arising from this unlawful situation", and asserted that the Governors Island Agreement was the "only valid framework for resolving the crisis in Haiti". It supported "energetically" the process of political dialogue carried out under the auspices of Dante Caputo, Special Envoy of the Secretaries-General of the UN and OAS.

Gravely alarmed by the "persistence and worsening of flagrant violations of human rights", in particular "summary and arbitrary executions, involuntary disappearances, torture and rape, and arbitrary arrests and detention, as well as the refusal to recognize freedom of expression, assembly and association", the Assembly asked the Secretary-General to do his utmost to bring MICIVIH back "as rapidly as possible".

Reasserting that the country's military authorities were "fully responsible for the suffering resulting directly from their disrespect" for Haiti's Constitution and for their public commitments to the Governors Island Agreement, the Assembly expressed its "profound concern" for the fate of the Haitian people.

Aristide's speech

A total and complete blockade of Haiti was urged by President Aristide in his address to the General Assembly on 28 October. The flagrant violation of the Governors Island Agreement could only accelerate the "headlong rush to national breakdown", he said.

Nothing could keep Haitians from defending their right to liberty, he went on. Over and above political storms, they would establish a democratic State based on law. Once the rightful Government returned, steps would be taken to address Haiti's economic and social problems, reform its tax and banking systems, and combat drugs and smuggling. There would be "justice for all, transparency in all; participation by all", he pledged.

Haitian Prime Minister Robert Malval *(left)* with Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Resolution 48/151: 'Recurrent violations'

Recurrence of "flagrant human rights violations committed under the illegal government that took power following the coup of 29 September 1991" was again condemned by the General Assembly on 20 December.

In adopting resolution 48/151, the Assembly stressed that full implementation of the Agreement of Governors Island was an essential part of improving the human rights situation in Haiti.

On 25 October, the International Civilian Mission reported *(A/48/532)* that "divisions and antagonisms" in Haitian politics and society remained deep. There was as yet "little control over those with access to weapons", and fears had been growing amongst the unarmed population of "further violence intended to prevent the return of President Aristide".

Mounting human rights violations in Haiti were "linked to political developments", MICIVIH Executive Director Colin Granderson said at a press conference on 12 November. Victims were President Aristide's supporters, and perpetrators were members of the armed forces, police and, particularly, "attachés whose visibility and activities multiplied geometrically throughout the country as the transition period continued", he stated.

Since the Mission's evacuation on 15 and 16 October, there had been reliable and consistent reports of an "increased number of human rights violations", including killings, arbitrary arrests and threats to the security of person, it was reported *(A/48/532/Add.1)* on 18 November.

Noting "specific threats" to local UN employees and to people who had been in contact with it, the Mission also reiterated "in the strongest possible terms" the accountability of the Haitian Armed Forces to the international community "for the safety of all such people".

Other efforts

The convening of a national conference, with the participation of a "broad cross section" of Haitian society to "discuss the future of the nation in the framework of the Governors Island Agreement", was welcomed by the Secretary-General on 7 December.

The initiative, proposed by Prime Minister Malval, would give a "new impetus to the search for a solution to the Haitian crisis" within the context of the Agreement, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali hoped.

On 15 December, Mr. Malval resigned and withdrew his proposal. ■

'Region of peace' called for
El Salvador elections near

Supporting the declaration of Central America as a "region of peace, freedom, democracy and development", the General Assembly on 20 December noted with interest proposals to establish a "new model of regional security" there. Such a model, the Assembly said in adopting without a vote resolution 48/161, was to be based on a "reasonable balance of forces, the pre-eminence of civilian authority, the eradication of extreme poverty, the promotion of sustained development, protection of the environment and the elimination of violence, corruption, terrorism and trafficking in drugs and weapons".

Progress in strengthening democracy in Central America—as demonstrated by the upcoming elections in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras and Panama—was welcomed.

In other action, the General Assembly on 22 October *(resolution 48/8)* called for "all possible assistance to support the consolidation of peace" in Nicaragua and for the process of sustained economic recovery and development that would "render the peace and democracy achieved irreversible".

In resolution 48/199, the Assembly on 21 December urged continuing support for the 1988 Special Plan of Economic Cooperation for Central America and the creation of updated and new regional programmes to prevent reversal of achievements in the region and build peace through integrated and sustained development.

ONUSAL extended

On 30 November, the Security Council extended the mandate of the UN Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) for a further six months, until 31 May 1994.

In unanimously adopting resolution 888 (1993), the Council also condemned recent acts of violence, which might indicate "renewed activity by illegal armed groups" and could, "if unchecked, negatively affect the peace process" in El Salvador, including elections scheduled for 20 March 1994.

The Government and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) were urged to "make determined efforts to prevent political violence and accelerate compliance with their commitments" under the 1992 Mexico City Peace Accords.

The Council supported an "impartial, independent and credible investigation" by the UN and El Salvador of the illegal groups. It expressed concern over "continuing problems and delays" in implementing the Accords. Parties were urged to remove all obstacles to the land transfer programme, stressing the need to accelerate reintegration programmes for ex-combatants of both sides.

Established on 20 May 1991 under Security Council resolution 693 (1991) to monitor all agreements between El Salvador and the FMLN, ONUSAL initially verified compliance with the 1990 San José Agreement on Human Rights. The Mission widened its scope under Council resolution 729 (1992) of 14 January 1992, to verify the Mexico City Peace Accords. On 27 May 1993, its mandate was enlarged, under resolution 832 (1993), to provide for observers for the electoral process.

Four elections—for President, the National Assembly, municipal legislatures, and the Central American Parliament—are scheduled to be held simultaneously on 20 March 1994. The Secretary-General reported *(S/26606)* on 20 October that voter registration was a "principal element in shaping the political atmosphere".

The Secretary-General on 14 October reported *(S/26581)* that the campaign had begun with "only partial implementation" of the Accords.

On 23 November, he cited *(S/26790)* the "disturbing reappearance" of some "ugly features of El Salvador's past", such as the possible resurgence of illegal armed groups with political objectives.

There were three aspects of the peace process—human rights, police matters, and economic and social programmes to reintegrate ex-combatants into civil society—the Secretary-General stated. He recommended that the Mission be maintained at reduced strength beyond 31 May 1994 to verify full deployment of the National Civil Police and phasing out of the National Police.

Violence condemned

Outbursts of violence, including seemingly politically motivated murders, were condemned by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Recent acts of violence in El Salvador were inadmissible, as they could "hamper the holding of free elections", the Assembly stated on 20 December, in adopting resolution 48/149.

In a 5 November statement *(S/26695)* by its President, José Luis Jesus of Cape Verde, the Security Council called on authorities in El Salvador to bring to justice those responsible for the killings, which appeared to be "politically motivated", and "all the more serious in the light of the upcoming electoral process".

The Council on 10 December noted *(S/26866)* the creation of a Joint Group made up of two representatives of the Salvadorian Government, the National Counsel for the Defence of Human Rights, and the Director of the ONUSAL Division of Human Rights. It was established following a mission to El Salvador (8-15 November) led by Under-Secretary-General Marrack Goulding. ■

Total test ban: A 'priority objective'

All States should support the multilateral negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament for a comprehensive nuclear test ban—a "priority objective" of the international community in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation—the General Assembly stated on 16 December.

Acting on the recommendation of its First Committee (Disarmament and International Security), the Assembly, by resolution 48/70, urged the Conference on Disarmament to "proceed intensively" in its negotiation of a "universal and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty".

The Assembly also stressed *(48/69)* that pending the conclusion of such a ban, nuclear-weapon States should "suspend all nuclear-test explosions through an agreed moratorium or unilateral moratoria". Such unilateral steps announced earlier by several nuclear-weapon States were welcomed.

More controversial was a ban on nuclear weapon use, opposed by most Western countries. In adopting resolution 48/76 B by a vote of 120 to 23, with 24 abstentions, the Assembly once again asked the Conference on Disarmament to commence negotiations on the subject, providing a four-article draft convention prohibiting the "use or threat of use under any circumstances".

Negotiating a verifiable ban on the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices was also recommended *(resolution 48/75 L)*.

In resolution 48/75 C, the Assembly requested a "short report" on non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and of vehicles for their delivery.

Welcoming bilateral steps in nuclear disarmament, the Assembly, among other things, encouraged *(48/75 B)* the United States, the Russian Federation, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine to "continue their cooperative efforts aimed at eliminating nuclear weapons and strategic offensive arms on the basis of existing agreements".

Compliance with a wide array of arms limitation and disarmament agreements was also urged. In resolution 48/63, the Assembly called upon all States to seriously consider the implications of non-compliance with such accords for international peace and security, as well as for "prospects for further progress in the field of disarmament".

A 'broader structure'

Adopting a total of 47 resolutions—24 of them without a vote—the First Committee continued to deal with post-cold-war issues related to international peace and security.

Disarmament should be "integrated into the broader structure of international peace and security rather than be pursued in isolation", Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs Marrack Goulding told the Committee on 18 October.

In launching the debate, Committee Chairman Adolf Ritter von Wagner of Germany specified that "two seemingly contradictory approaches"—narrowing the focus with regard to the traditional disarmament agenda and, at the same time, widening it to "comprise broader issues of peace and security"—were to be taken by the Committee, in dealing with its 27 agenda items and 22 sub-items. "Some remarkable political developments of the recent past" should help the Committee to "approach consensus on hitherto intractable issues", he added.

On 9 December, Committee Vice-Chairman Behrouz Moradi of Iran said that with the end of the cold war, some "dormant issues" had resurfaced. Developing countries felt that "non-proliferation initiatives should not compromise the right to have access to material and technology for peaceful purposes" or "replace initiatives on comprehensive elimination of weapons of mass destruction".

Disarmament, transparency, security

On 16 December, the Assembly acted on the bulk of the drafts recommended by the First Committee.

In resolution 48/84 A, it emphasized its commitment to preventive diplomacy and stressed the "great importance of the role of regional arrangements and organizations" in the maintenance of international peace and security. All States were urged to "strive for sustainable progress" in disarmament, arms control, non-proliferation, transparency in arms transfers and confidence-building measures.

Since an "enhanced level of transparency in armaments" contributed greatly to confidence-building and security among States, the Assembly called upon *(48/75 E)* all Member States to provide the "requested data and information" to the UN Register of Conventional Arms—an "important step forward in the promotion of transparency in military matters".

Welcoming recent progress in arms limitations and disarmament, it also invited *(48/62)* all States to participate in the UN system for the standardized reporting of military expenditures.

The potential in technological advances for application to military purposes, which could "lead to more sophisticated weapons and weapons systems", was noted *(48/66)* with concern. In resolution 48/67, the Assembly invited Member States to "widen multilateral dialogue, bearing in mind the proposal for seeking universally acceptable norms or guidelines that would regulate international transfers of high technology with military applications".

All States, particularly those with major space capabilities, were called upon *(48/74 A)* to "contribute actively to the objective of the peaceful use of outer space", and to "refrain from actions contrary to that objective".

Regional concerns

With the end of the cold war and bipolar confrontation, the UN faced "new tasks in the area of maintaining international peace and security", the Assembly stated in resolution 48/84 A. Of growing importance in that regard were regional approaches to disarmament. States were called upon *(48/75 I)* to "conclude arrangements, wherever possible, for nuclear non-proliferation, disarmament and confidence-building measures at regional and subregional levels".

Endorsing the guidelines for regional disarmament adopted by the Disarmament Commission in 1993 and recommending them to all Member States for implementation, the Assembly affirmed *(48/75 G)* that global and regional approaches to disarmament complemented each other and should therefore be "pursued simultaneously".

Noting a new report *(A/48/324)* on international arms transfers, the Assembly stressed *(48/75 F)* that effective control over the imports and exports of conventional weapons fell "under the responsibility of Member States". It called for *(48/75 H)* "appropriate enforcement measures" to end the illegal export of conventional weapons.

The Conference on Disarmament was asked *(48/75 J)* to consider formulating principles to serve as a "framework for regional agreements on conventional arms control".

Convinced that nuclear-weapon-free zones could effectively contribute to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and general and complete disarmament, the Assembly urged the establishment of such zones in the Middle East *(48/71)*, South Asia *(48/72)* and Africa *(48/86)*.

In a text on the 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, the Assembly stressed *(48/82)* the need for Security Council permanent members and the major users of the Indian Ocean to participate in the work of the relevant Ad Hoc Committee, particularly at a time when it was "actively engaged in the task of developing new alternative approaches".

Continuing efforts by Mediterranean countries to contribute actively to the "elimination of all causes of tension" in the region and to the "promotion of just and lasting solutions" to the persistent problems through peaceful means were also welcomed *(48/81)*. ■

DPRK cooperation with IAEA urged

DPRK Deputy Foreign Minister Choe U Jin with the Secretary-General on 24 December.

Commending the efforts of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to implement its safeguards agreement with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)—concluded under the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and in force since April 1992—the General Assembly on 1 November urged the DPRK to cooperate immediately with the Agency.

In adopting resolution 48/14 by a vote of 140 to 1 (DPRK), with 9 abstentions (Angola, China, Cuba, Ghana, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Senegal, Viet Nam), the Assembly stated that the DPRK had "failed to discharge its safeguards obligations" and had recently "widened the area of non-compliance".

Addressing the Assembly, IAEA Director-General Hans Blix said that until such time as the inconsistency between the DPRK report and the Agency's findings was satisfactorily resolved through additional information and visits to more locations, the "possibility that nuclear material has been diverted cannot be excluded".

The longer the IAEA was precluded from conducting inspection, the more safeguards-related data deteriorated and the "less assurance safeguards can provide that even the declared facilities are used exclusively for peaceful purposes", he added. Mr. Blix told the IAEA Board of Governors on 2 December in Vienna that the Agency "cannot verify the correctness and assess the completeness" of the DPRK report of "material subject to safeguards".

On 3 December, Mr. Blix reported that the safeguards situation had "deteriorated further". Since his 11 October report *(S/26456/Add.1 and 2)*, no consultation between the DPRK and IAEA and "no inspections of any kind at nuclear facilities" had taken place. Surveillance equipment, such as cameras, had ceased to operate, seals had not been checked and many sites had not been visited.

The DPRK on 1 December stated that the issue of routine and ad hoc inspections by the IAEA would be "resolved one by one" through further high-level talks with the United States and the Agency.

On 26 December, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said his meetings with Korean leaders had convinced him that both Presidents "wish to avoid escalation of present tensions and to solve peacefully the problems that exist between them". Mr. Boutros-Ghali visited Pyongyong and Seoul in late December.

A campaign against 'blind terrorism'

By Harold Fruchtbaum

Tucked away on the ninth floor of the UN Secretariat building, Patrick Blagden, the UN's official De-mining Expert and retired brigadier in the United Kingdom's Royal Engineers, placed two land-mines on a corner of his desk. His visitor, sitting only inches away, pressed back uneasily in the chair as he demonstrated how the palm-sized mines open like tins of shoe polish. Missing from inside were the explosives that sever much of a person's leg when the primed mine is stepped on. With the tug of a tripwire, other models explode on the ground or jump up a metre or more to spew out lethal blast and shrapnel over sizable killing and maiming zones.

Made almost entirely of plastic to thwart detection by metal sensors, mines come in colours that obscure them in the terrain where they will be placed. One of Mr. Blagden's mines is dark green, the other buff. They may be scattered from aircraft or by artillery or carefully set in place, often in conjunction with anti-tank mines.

"A mine problem is a vast national problem and not only a UN problem", Mr. Blagden said. "Building local capability in de-mining is essential."

Waiting to explode

Finding and removing each anti-personnel mine, which sells for about $3, costs from $300 to $1,000. In more than 60 countries—a third of the world's nations—85 to over 100 million mines of various designs, including those buried during the Second World War, wait ready to explode. They do not discriminate between soldier and civilian or adult and child. Each week, 150 or more people—a fifth to over a half of them children—are killed by mines. Many others are maimed. A former delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross calls it "blind terrorism".

Mr. Blagden is refreshingly frank when he speaks about the huge de-mining problems facing the UN and its Member States—problems remote from the lives of most people. The ghastliness of these limb-shredding weapons lurking by the tens of millions has yet "to get home", he said. "Only when it does, and the public puts so much light and heat on the parliamentarians that they fear losing their jobs, will things happen."

Things are happening at the UN. The General Assembly in 1993 adopted resolution 48/7, initiating increased international de-mining assistance, resolution 48/75 K calling for a worldwide moratorium on the export of anti-personnel mines, and resolution 48/79 requesting the Secretary-General to convene in 1994 a review conference of the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, with special reference to the Protocol on land-mines and booby-traps.

In 1993, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali launched a coordinated mine-clearance programme through the Department of Humanitarian Affairs and the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. The focus of this effort is the de-mining office with Mr. Blagden and his deputy, Tore Skedsmo, a national of Norway. Mr. Skedsmo worked on mine clearing in Cambodia with Norwegian People's Aid, a non-governmental organization.

UN Photo

UN de-mining expert Patrick Blagden examines two land-mines in his ninth-floor Secretariat office in New York.

UN-sponsored de-mining operations are under way in several countries, including Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Mozambique, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia. Experts estimate 26 million to 31 million land-mines are waiting to be found and destroyed.

For Messrs. Blagden and Skedsmo, this is a threshold period for mine clearance. Needed are codes of practice and much more research to advance de-mining technology. Training mine clearers and those who will supervise them is especially important. By sponsoring these activities, the UN helps in the creation of universal de-mining standards and an international network of experts.

As Mr. Skedsmo said: "It will take more than one generation." ■

UN proclaims 1996 as Poverty Eradication Year

Progress on 'Agenda for Development'

The year 1996 was proclaimed the Year for the Eradication of Poverty by the General Assembly on 21 December. That text was among 52 resolutions and 18 decisions adopted by the General Assembly on the recommendation of its Second Committee (Economic and Financial).

Issues considered ranged from the environment to the international economy, from population and human settlements to international humanitarian assistance.

The Assembly welcomed the intended completion of the Secretary-General's proposed "Agenda for Development" this year. It also decided to convene in Japan in 1994 a World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction.

The concept of development had to be rethought, Nitin Desai, Under-Secretary-General for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, told the Second Committee on 8 October.

The world today is not the same as 30 years ago, when the concept of development was originally framed, he said. The urge to rethink development had grown from the gap between promise and results, as well as from interdependence, the globalization of production, the impact of regional integration and the effects of global communication. A development policy had to give priority to health and education, as well as such areas as the protection of the environment.

Furthermore, the Secretary-General reported *(A/48/689)* in a note on 29 November, traditional approaches to development had "failed to transform poor countries and countries in post-conflict situations". The assumption of conditions of peace, on which development strategies had traditionally been built, was in stark contrast with the actual situation prevailing in a growing number of countries in Africa and elsewhere.

An "Agenda for Development" would complement his June 1992 "An Agenda for Peace", by addressing the "deeper foundations of global peace and security in the economic, social and environmental spheres", the Secretary-General said. An open, working Agenda should launch a "new process of dialogue where all States can contribute to the determination of their common future".

Many Member States had referred to peace and development as the "major twin themes of international cooperation". An "Agenda for Development" could redress what is seen as a risk of marginalization of the UN system in the economic and social sphere.

However, the complexity of issues to be addressed in an "Agenda for Development" required a longer timeframe for elaboration than envisaged by the Assembly when it first considered the proposal in 1992, the note stated.

Convinced of the need to elaborate a framework to promote international consensus in the field of development, the Assembly decided *(resolution 48/166)* to hold special plenary meetings at a high level in 1994 to consider ways of giving political impetus to an "Agenda for Development", which also could be a possible topic for the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council in 1994.

Imprisoned by poverty.

Poverty Eradication Year

In proclaiming the Year for the Eradication of Poverty under resolution 48/183, the Assembly recognized that the eradication of poverty, especially in developing countries, had become a priority development objective for the 1990s in order to promote sustainable development.

The positive impact of a favourable international economic environment in combating poverty was stressed, in particular in the area of trade. UN assistance in observing the Year should be provided with a view to creating a greater awareness that the "eradication of poverty is fundamental to reinforcing peace and achieving sustainable development".

In a related text *(48/184)*, the Assembly stressed the importance of domestic policies in eradicating poverty through food security, health, education, housing and population programmes.

National strategies and programmes

Rethinking development

UN Photo 151707

Traditional approaches to development had "failed to transform poor countries and countries in post-conflict situations", the Secretary-General reported.

should involve more active participation of targeted communities, as well as the most vulnerable groups.

Recognizing the trends towards regional cooperation and the globalization of economic issues, the Assembly reaffirmed *(48/165)* the central role of the UN in strengthening "constructive dialogue and partnership" to promote further international economic cooperation for development.

Economies in transition

Reaffirming the need for the full integration of the countries with economies in transition into the world economy, in particular through improved market access for their exports of goods and services, the Assembly requested *(48/181)* the Secretary-General to strengthen the UN Secretariat's ability to conduct analytical activities and provide policy advice and technical assistance to the countries with economies in transition.

In a report, "The impact of the recent evolution of the economies in transition on the world economy" *(A/48/331)*, the Secretary-General stated there was little doubt that changes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union would, in the long term, have a positive impact on the growth of the world economy.

There was, however, a feeling that the focus of some major industrialized countries and financial institutions had shifted away from developing countries, and "improvement in international economic cooperation would seem to call for a more judicious distribution of international attention to the various emerging and old, yet unsolved, issues in the world economy".

The Assembly also requested *(48/180)* the Secretary-General to strengthen entrepreneurship and implement privatization programmes, de-monopolization and administrative de-regulation.

National and international development cooperation should be intensified *(48/179)* towards endogenous capacity-building in science and technology in the developing countries.

Debt, trade

By a vote of 164 to 1 (United States), the Assembly, noting that some debtor developing countries had concluded agreements on commercial bank debt-service reduction, called for *(48/182)* the conclusion of similar agreements with other interested developing countries.

The international community should explore ways to cancel or reduce debt further, and consider "innovative measures", such as debt-for-equity, debt-for-nature and debt-for-development swaps.

The Assembly urged *(48/172)* all Member States to give high priority and full support to technical cooperation among developing countries, especially in the fields of science and technology, transfer of technology, capacity-building, education and technical training and know-how.

It decided *(48/187)* to continue to explore the issue of the financing of development and its potential funding sources, in close consultation and cooperation with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the UN Conference on Trade and Development.

The Assembly asked *(48/171)* that a high-level intergovernmental meeting conduct in 1995 a mid-term global review on the implementation of the 1990 Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries for the 1990s.

The Assembly recognized *(48/55)* that trade liberalization by all countries, in particular the developed countries, was an "important tool for increasing economic efficiency and improving resource allocation, economic growth, sustainable development and employment in all countries".

It also recognized *(48/167)* that conditions did "not currently exist" to reach full agreement on all outstand-

ing issues in the draft code of conduct on the transfer of technology.

The Secretary-General was asked *(48/169)* to convene in 1995 another meeting on developing transit systems in land-locked and transit developing countries.

By a vote of 116 to 32, with 16 abstentions, the Assembly called *(48/168)* for effective measures to eliminate the use by some developed countries of unilateral economic coercive measures not authorized by the UN against developing countries.

Member States and relevant organizations were urged *(48/176)* to contribute and participate actively in the preparations for the UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), to be held in Turkey from 3 to 14 June 1996.

All Governments should strengthen *(48/178)* integrated national shelter strategies based on the 1988 Global Strategy for Shelter for the Year 2000, as well as principles of social, economic and environmental sustainability.

UN bodies should increase *(48/205)* their support for national and regional actions and targets for human resources development.

Texts were adopted on assistance to Central America, Palestinians, and States affected by the embargo on Yugoslavia, as well as assistance to individual States.

Restructuring

In a resolution *(48/162)* adopted by the Assembly without reference to a Main Committee, it requested the Secretary-General to implement further measures for restructuring and revitalization of the UN in the economic, social and related fields starting in 1994.

Those reforms will affect the division of labour between the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, the work of the Second Committee, and UN humanitarian, disaster relief and economic assistance.

In another text *(48/60)*, the Assembly decided that an ad hoc panel of distinguished, expert and experienced persons—to be known as the "United Nations Panel on Opportunity and Participation"—should be appointed to conduct a comprehensive study on opportunity and participation for the economic and social advancement of all peoples with particular reference to the economies of developing countries.

New 'climate of agreement' for Population Conference

A broad outline for the final document for the International Conference on Population and Development, to be held in Cairo, Egypt from 5 to 13 September 1994, was reviewed by the Second Committee in October.

The annotated outline *(A/48/430/Add.1)* contained: the guiding principles of a proposed action programme in the area of population and development; a discussion of people's choices and responsibilities in such population-related areas as gender equality, family structure and reproductive rights; and the means of implementing the Conference's recommendations, including information and education strategies, research, and national and international plans of action.

The guiding principles of the proposed action programme will be organized around four major topics: human rights and population; the responsibility of society for human development, reproductive health and family planning; sustainable development and population; and partnership in population: moving from commitment to action.

The General Assembly, in adopting resolution 48/186 on 21 December on the recommendation of its Second Committee, took note of the outline, and requested the Secretary-General of the Cairo Conference, in preparing its draft final document, to be guided by delegations' views on the outline.

It recognized the "importance of population issues in the context of sustained economic growth and sustainable development and the need to treat population issues in their proper developmental perspective".

In a 14 October report *(A/48/430)*, the Secretary-General described the progress made on the preparations for the Cairo Conference. It is being overseen by a Preparatory Committee, which held its second session from 10 to 21 May 1993, and is to hold its third session at UN Headquarters from 4 to 22 April 1994.

There was general support in the Preparatory Committee for the proposal of the Conference's Secretary-General to include a set of quantifiable, reachable goals in the Cairo document, with a proposed time-frame of 20 years.

Those goals would relate to such issues as: maternal, infant and child mortality; life expectancy at birth; education, especially for women and girls; gender equality; and the availability and access to a full range of modern, safe and effective family planning services.

Delegations to the Preparatory Committee agreed that population, environment and development were "inextricably linked" and that the empowerment of women was an essential factor in achieving population objectives, sustained economic growth and sustainable development.

The right of couples and individuals to decide freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children was reaffirmed by a large majority of the participants in the Preparatory Committee, the report said.

Tangible results asked from Earth Summit offsprings

The year 1993 saw the birth of much of the institutional mechanism suggested by the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; the Commission on Sustainable Development held its first session, and other bodies met to flesh out global agreements on such issues as desertification, fisheries on the high seas, and the sustainable development of small islands.

The forty-eighth General Assembly asked for tangible results in those three areas, as well as progress in other matters, in several environment-related texts recommended to it by the Second (Economic and Financial) Committee.

The Assembly noted *(48/194)* progress made by the UN Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks, and reaffirmed that the Conference should complete its work before the 1994 Assembly session. It approved the convening in New York of two further sessions of the Conference, to be held from 14 to 31 March, and 15 to 26 August 1994.

Fishing, islands

The Assembly expressed *(48/445)* its appreciation of measures taken to implement its 1991 resolution calling for an absolute ban on large-scale pelagic drift-net fishing, due to its devastating impact on marine life. It also expressed concern at reports of activities inconsistent with that resolution.

The Assembly decided *(48/193)* to convene the first Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States in Barbados from 25 April to 6 May 1994, including a high-level segment on 5 and 6 May. The Preparatory Committee for the Conference should resume its first session in New York from 7 to 11 March.

Recalling that desertification is a "problem of global dimension, in that it affects one sixth of the world population and one quarter of the total land area of the world", the Assembly urged *(48/191)* the one-year-old Committee tackling the problem—formally known as the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for the Elaboration of an International Convention to Combat Desertification in those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification, particularly in Africa—to complete its negotiations by June 1994.

Drought, climate

In a related text *(48/175)*, the Assembly urged the international community to continue its financial and technical support to the countries most affected by drought and desertification, in order to implement the relevant programmes outlined in Agenda 21, the blueprint of action adopted by the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED)—as the Earth Summit was officially called.

The Assembly decided *(48/189)* that the first session of the Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change should be held from 28 March to 7 April 1995. It accepted the offer of the Government of Germany to host that session in Berlin.

All Governments were urged *(48/190)* to promote wide dissemination of the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, which contained "fundamental principles for the achievement of sustainable development, based on a new and equitable global partnership".

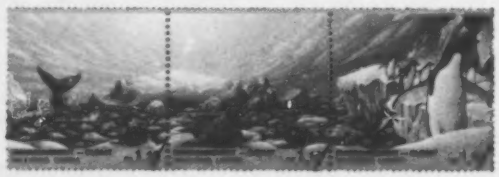
The UN Environment Programme (UNEP) was asked *(48/192)* to submit a report on its environmental monitoring activities, including a review of Earthwatch, an international surveillance network of the state of the environment.

The Assembly stressed *(48/174)* the need for close cooperation between UNEP and the Commission on Sustainable Development in implementing UNCED recommendations.

Reflecting on the first year of the Commission for Sustainable Development, its Chairman, Razali Ismail of Malaysia, said on 23 November that while he was pleased with the outcome of the Commission's first substantive session, there was still vast ground to cover if Agenda 21 was not to remain a programme of action on paper alone. ■

A 'world park'

Protecting Antarctica



The need to protect and safeguard Antarctica and its dependent ecosystems from "external environmental disturbances" for future generations was stressed by the General Assembly in resolution 48/80.

Any move at "drawing up an international convention to establish a nature reserve or world park" in Antarctica must be negotiated with the full participation of the international community, the Assembly stated.

In a related text *(48/75 D)*, all States were called upon to take appropriate measures to prevent "any dumping of nuclear or radioactive wastes that would infringe upon the sovereignty of States".

Tokyo Conference calls for solidarity, greater participation

Spread across 30.2 million square kilometres of land, Africa presents an intricate mosaic of development challenges. Heavy debt load, rapid population growth, drought, famine and starvation, and in many cases political instability create a complicated pattern of problems impeding economic and social progress.

Some 1,000 delegates from 63 countries gathered on 5 and 6 October at the Tokyo International Conference on African Development to discuss the broad range of difficulties facing the 52-country continent.

Organized by the UN, the Government of Japan and the Washington-based Global Coalition of Africa, the Conference goal was to promote democracy and sustainable development in Africa.

High-level Declaration

At meeting's end, participants unanimously adopted the Tokyo Declaration on African Development, a high-level political commitment intended to refocus attention on Africa's problems. It should help strengthen emerging partnerships for sustainable development, based on the self-reliance of African countries and the support of their development partners.

In concluding remarks, Prime Minister of Japan Morihiro Hosokawa said: "There is a maxim in Japan that says 'though one arrow can easily be broken, three arrows banded together cannot.' . . . I am convinced that a clue to tackling the challenges facing Africa can also be found in the three arrows, namely, the efforts of the African Governments, the active participation of the African peoples, and the warm assistance of the world community."

Efforts to right imbalances between Africa and developed countries are not new. In 1986, a special session of the General Assembly adopted a five-year UN Programme of Action for African Development, 1986-1990, intended to accelerate the continent's development process.

Many African countries pursued the stringent economic reforms set out in that Programme and several achieved positive results. Ketumule Masire, President of Botswana and co-Chairman of Global Coalition for Africa, told the Tokyo Conference: "There are thus some signs of hope, and we trust this momentum will be maintained by more African countries undertaking reforms", he added.

However, many have said that visible results in this area are too sparse. "Disillusionment and fatigue with Africa's seeming lack of tangible progress have dampened enthusiasm, and made the task of building support for African development an especially formidable one", UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated in his message to the Conference.

In 1991, the Assembly, hoping to affirm the international commitment to African progress, adopted the New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. This plan focuses on specific goals, including attainment of a 6-per-cent real growth rate per year of gross domestic product. It also calls for greater involvement from the international community in helping Africa diversify its economy and reduce debt.

"If we are to accept the inevitability of increasing global interdependence, then we have to accept that the challenges facing Africa squarely confront the international community as well", Prime Minister Hosokawa stated in his keynote address.

Japan Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa addressing the Conference.

Six themes

Delegates deliberated on six themes central to Africa's sustainable development, considered a kind of "back bone" for the 35-paragraph Tokyo Declaration:

- **Political and economic reforms**

For development efforts to succeed, African Governments must work to promote "accountable and participatory political systems", the Declaration stated.

Participants reaffirmed the need for structural adjustment programmes. Considering that 48 per cent of the population of sub-Saharan Africa lives below the poverty level, the Declaration stated that such adjustment programmes should contain "measures to improve the access of the poor to income-earning opportunities".

- **Economic development through the private sector**

An important avenue towards strengthening the continent's economy is through the private sector. But

in order to attract foreign investment, Africa must offer insurance to private enterprises. "We recognize the importance of appropriate . . . guarantee schemes to protect private enterprises investing in Africa from political and economic risks", delegates affirmed in the Declaration.

♦ Regional cooperation and integration

Because most African countries have small national markets, the Conference supported intra-regional trade and investment as a road to economic expansion, and pledged in the Declaration to continue supporting "efforts aimed at reducing obstacles to integration such as reduction of trade and investment barriers".

♦ Emergency relief and development

Unfortunately, natural and man-made disasters tremendously damaged development efforts in Africa, increasing the number of refugees and diverting human and financial resources "that otherwise could have served development purposes", the Declaration stated.

With this in mind, in the Declaration Conference participants affirmed their dedication to addressing the root causes of disasters and establishing preventive mechanisms.

♦ Asian experience, African development

Throughout the Conference, delegates looked to Asia as a model of hope for other developing countries. "Over the past 30 years, in contrast to Africa, the countries of East and South-East Asia have achieved high rates of growth in per capita income", the Declaration states, adding that such success "gives hope that lessons can be drawn for African development".

♦ International cooperation for sustainable development

Finally, the Declaration called for greater solidarity among local NGOs, African women and development partners—a point stressed by the Secretary-General to the Conference as well. "Donors of aid must become investors in development", he said. "Recipients of aid must transform themselves into partners for progress." ■

High-Level Panel on African development meets

The 12-member Panel, chaired by the UN Secretary-General, includes *from left*, Martin Huslid, Permanent Representative of Norway to the UN; Brownson Dede, Assistant Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity; Yves Berthelot, Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe; Catherine Bertini, Executive Director of the World Food Programme; Kenneth Dadzie, Secretary-General of the UN Conference on Trade and Development; Sylvie Brunel, Director-General of Action internationale contre la faim; Simba Makoni, Executive Secretary of the Southern Africa Development Community; Layashi Yaker, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa; Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Assistant Administrator and Regional Director for Africa, UN Development Programme; Edward Jaycox, World Bank Vice President for Africa; Mamoudou Touré, Counsellor and Director, Africa Department, International Monetary Fund. Not in the picture is General Olusegun Obasanjo, former President of Nigeria and Chairman of the Africa Leadership Forum.

Regional integration, long-term development and security were the focus of a two-day meeting of the Panel of High-Level Personalities on African Development (New York, 2 and 3 December).

"Progress is being made. Africa is not being ignored", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali told Panel members, but much more must be done, especially in the area of achieving political stability. "Political instability discourages investment, while political unrest deters substantial assistance."

Participants recognized that peace and security were the fundamental preconditions for development, and supported democratization of the continent.

The Panel convened twice before—in December 1992 in Geneva and in April 1993 in Rome. Topics of concern were: external debt, regional and subregional cooperation and integration, diversification of the economies, and participation of non-governmental organizations in development programmes.

Aware of the need for African countries to diversify their economies, the General Assembly called on all UN bodies to support the UN New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s and asked the international community to increase aid to promote sustainable growth *(resolution 48/214)*; UN and non-governmental organizations were also asked to implement the commitments contained in the 1993 Tokyo Declaration.

The Secretary-General has recommended that African countries establish "national diversification councils" and continue efforts to improve the investment climate. They were commended for "actions undertaken to promote an economic environment conducive to growth and development".

New UN High Commissioner will champion rights worldwide

In a landmark vote on 20 December 1993, the General Assembly created the position of UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, marking what many have predicted will be a turning point in UN action in the human rights arena.

Under the direction and authority of the Secretary-General, the new High Commissioner will "promote and protect the effective enjoyment by all of all civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights", the Assembly declared in resolution 48/141.

As the UN official with principal responsibility for human rights activities, the Commissioner will "play an active role in removing the current obstacles and in meeting the challenges to the full realization of all human rights", preventing violations throughout the world, as reflected in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action.

Adopted without a vote, the text was among 53 resolutions and decisions on human rights approved by the General Assembly on the recommendation of its Third Committee. Among other actions, the Assembly designated 1995 the UN Year for Tolerance *(48/126)*, proclaimed the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People *(48/163)* to commence on 10 December 1994, and asked *(48/127)* that a UN decade for human rights education be considered.

The responsibilities of the High Commissioner would include strengthening and streamlining existing human rights mechanisms; engaging in dialogue with all Governments to secure respect for all human rights; coordinating human rights promotion and protection activities throughout the UN system, including UN education and public information programmes; and supervising the Centre for Human Rights.

UN Photo 175403/J. Isaac

On 14 February, the Assembly confirmed José Ayala Lasso of Ecuador as the first UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. He will promote and protect civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights worldwide.

In particular, the High Commissioner will "recognize the importance of promoting a balanced and sustainable development for all people and of ensuring realization of the right to development".

Serving a four-year term at the rank of Under-Secretary-General, the High Commissioner will report annually to the Commission on Human Rights and, through the Economic and Social Council, to the General Assembly. With a branch office in New York, the High Commissioner's principal location will be in Geneva.

'Of high moral integrity'

The Assembly detailed several specific requirements for the new high-level Commissioner. For "impartial, objective, non-selective and effective performance of duties", he or she must be a "person of high moral standing and personal integrity", possessing expertise in the human rights field and an understanding of diverse cultures.

José Ayala Lasso, Ambassador of Ecuador and Chairman of the working group that drew up the draft resolution, said that the High Commissioner would take into account a State's historical, cultural and religious background. But all human rights are universal regardless of any State's political, cultural and economic systems, he added. "I am very much convinced that the effectiveness of the action of the High Commissioner will depend on how much he or she earns the trust of all."

(Mr. Ayala Lasso was confirmed as UN High Commissioner for Human Rights on 14 February.)

In other action on human rights, the Assembly endorsed *(48/121)* the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted at the World Conference on Human Rights in June 1993.

It expressed grave concern *(48/126)* over increasing acts of violence against religious and ethnic minorities, stating that tolerance—the "recognition and appreciation of others, the ability to live together with and to listen to others"—was the "sound foundation of any civil society and of peace".

Believing that further efforts were "required to promote and protect the right to freedom of thought", the Assembly called for the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance. It urged *(48/128)* States to combat "acts of violence, including those motivated by religious extremism", and to encourage understanding of different beliefs.

States were urged *(48/138)* to follow the principles set out in the 1992 Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National, Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities.

The Assembly condemned *(48/122)* terrorism as "activities aimed at the destruction of human rights,

fundamental freedoms and democracy", and urged international cooperation in combating and eliminating such practices.

In resolution 48/119, the world body encouraged States to become parties to all international covenants on human rights, and it urged *(48/134)* them to strengthen their own national plans to combat human rights violations.

The Assembly endorsed *(48/132)* a proposal to create a comprehensive UN programme to help States build adequate national structures to promote the overall observance of human rights. It should encompass training for lawyers, judges and security forces in human rights and reform of penal and correctional establishments.

Noting that scientific and technological progress was a decisive factor in the development of human society, the Assembly asked *(48/140)* Member States to "ensure that the results of science and technology are used only for the benefit of the human being".

Country situations

The Assembly expressed concern over violations of human rights in many parts of the world.

Among specific countries cited were Afghanistan, Cuba, El Salvador, Estonia, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, Latvia, Myanmar, Somalia, Sudan and the former Yugoslavia.

Stressing its commitment to protecting the rights of children, the General Assembly recognized that all children had the right to health, shelter, education, an adequate standard of living and freedom from violence and harassment. It asked *(48/136)* Governments to take urgent measures to prevent the killing of street children and combat torture and violence against them.

Recognizing a growing number of incidents worldwide of child pornography, the selling of children and child prostitutes, it urged *(48/156)* Governments to enhance international cooperation to eradicate such aberrant practices.

Children were also suffering deteriorating situations due to war, said the Assembly, which urged *(48/157)* all UN organizations, Governments and non-governmental organizations to address the problem of children affected by armed conflict. The Secretary-General would appoint an expert to study the problem and make recommendations on improving the protection of children during war.

The Assembly wanted *(48/135)* a representative of the Secretary-General on displaced persons to visit countries with large numbers of internally displaced people and study the issues involved.

Preoccupied by the "increasingly heavy burden" imposed on developing countries by sudden mass exoduses, the Assembly asked *(48/139)* for particular attention for international cooperation to avert new flows of refugees, and to strengthen systems for early warning of human rights abuses leading to those exoduses.

The Assembly also asked *(48/148)* all Member States to consider adhering to the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. ■

New Declaration aims to stop violence against women

Alarmed that women's opportunities in the legal, social, political and economic fields are limited by "continuing and endemic violence", the 48th General Assembly has adopted a six-article Declaration on the elimination of violence against women.

The Assembly, in adopting resolution 48/104, defined violence against women as any act that "results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering", including "threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life". In May 1991, the Economic and Social Council had recommended developing an international instrument to address the issue.

"A manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women", and violence against women "both violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment by women of human rights and fundamental freedoms", states the Declaration.

It calls on States to condemn violence against women without invoking "any custom, tradition or religious consideration to avoid their obligations with respect to its elimination".

In addition, Governments should "sensitize" law enforcement officials to the needs of women, and promote educational programmes that would eliminate "cultural patterns" and "practices based on the idea of the inferiority or superiority of either of the sexes", says the Declaration.

The Assembly called for protection of the rights of migrant women workers.

It also asked *(48/109)* Member States to address the concerns of rural women in national development policies.

Continuing preparations for the Fourth World Conference on Women, set for Beijing in 1995, were reviewed. Three other women's conferences were sponsored by the UN—in Mexico City in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, and Nairobi in 1985. Implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women will be evaluated and a new platform of action formulated.

Racism: Third Decade proclaimed

Tolerance Year, crime, drug abuse acted on

Deeply concerned about discriminatory practices based on culture, nationality, language or religion, the General Assembly proclaimed the Third Decade to Combat Racism, beginning in 1993, and adopted an eight-part Programme of Action for the Decade.

Acts of racism, said the Assembly in adopting resolution 48/91 on 20 December, were "among the most serious violations of human rights in the contemporary world and must be combated by all available means".

In the new Programme of Action, the Assembly supported the same goals of the first decade—"to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction of any kind on grounds of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin, especially by eradicating racial prejudice, racism and racial discrimination".

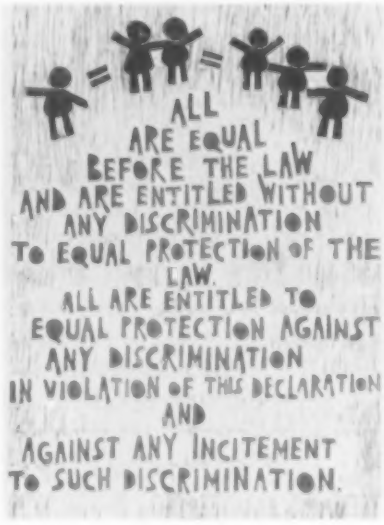
Major obstacles

Despite efforts during the past two Decades to eradicate such practices, racism and racial discrimination continued to represent "major obstacles" to ensuring respect for human rights and maintaining peace, Assistant Secretary-General for Human Rights Ibrahima Fall told the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) on 11 October.

By proclaiming the Third Decade, as well as the UN Year for Tolerance (1995), and creating a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Assembly showed its determination to "give the highest priority" to fighting racial discrimination.

Among 75 resolutions and 9 decisions emanating from the work of the Third Committee, the Assembly also adopted texts on: self-determination and the use of mercenaries; prevention of crime, drug abuse and alien smuggling; women; refugees; and the disabled.

Concerned that the objectives of the first two Decades to Combat Racism had not been attained and that "millions of human beings continue to be victims" of racial discrimination, the Assembly decided that the UN and



the international community should continue to "intensify their efforts" to combat racism and "provide assistance and relief to the victims".

It urged legislative, administrative and educational measures to fight new forms of racism, and to cooperate with the Special Rapporteur on racism. Ratification of international conventions on migrant workers and on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination was asked. Continuation of the study on the effects of racial discrimination on the children of minorities—particularly those of migrant workers—was requested.

Assistance should be given to the "victims of the political antagonisms resulting from the process of dismantling apartheid", the Assembly said, calling for UN seminars on the "effects of racial discrimination on the health of members of disadvantaged groups", and training in human rights for South African police. It also called for regional workshops on immigration and racism, transmission of racial inequality from one generation to the next, and legislation to combat racism.

At the international level, the "biggest contribution to the elimination of racial discrimination will be that which results from the actions of States within their own territories", the Assembly declared.

Crime/drug prevention

In addition to condemning alien smuggling *(see box, page 87)*, the Assembly, "alarmed by high costs of crime, particularly in its new and transnational forms", requested *(resolution 48/103)* the Secretary-General to continue preparations for the Ninth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in 1995, and expressed its support to the World Ministerial Conference on Organized Transnational Crime, in 1994. It also welcomed the initiative to hold in June 1994 the International Conference on "Laundering and Controlling Proceeds of Crime: A Global Approach". All three meetings will be in Italy.

As drug abuse continues to take lives, destroy the environment and exacerbate poverty in many parts of the world, the Assembly renewed *(48/12)* its commitment to strengthening international action to combat illicit drug production and trafficking.

In a six-part text in resolution 48/112, adopted on 20 December, the Assembly called upon States to intensify effective cooperation to combat drug abuse and illicit trafficking, and support national and regional strategies for drug abuse control. States were encouraged to take action to "prevent the illicit arms trade by which weapons are provided to drug traffickers".

The Assembly emphasized the link between illicit production, demand for and traffic in narcotic drugs, and the economic and social conditions in affected countries.

Further work was asked on an updated UN System-Wide Action Plan on Drug Abuse Control. States should support the Global Programme of Action and the UN International Drug Control Programme, it said.

According to a 49-page report *(A/48/286)*, despite success in some countries in reducing the supply of illicit drugs, the situation had changed little in the past three years.

Still, steps were being made to expand subregional drug control activities, and certain organizations were taking a more prominent role in the fight against drug abuse. For instance, the International Monetary Fund had "singled out the drug problem as one of five global priorities", the report stated.

Illicit transnational drug trafficking and the diversion of arms also had become a "grave concern" for many States, the report stated. In most countries suffering from civil war or terrorist activities, rival factions were trying to finance their operations with proceeds from drug trafficking.

Mercenaries, self-determination

Convinced that the use of mercenaries threatens international peace, the Assembly condemned *(48/92)* their "recruitment, financing, training, assembly, transit and use" for the purpose of "destabilizing and overthrowing" Governments, particularly in developing countries and in Africa.

In reaffirming the universal realization of the right to self-determination, the Assembly called upon *(48/93)* all States to "cease immediately their military intervention in and occupation of foreign countries and territories".

The Assembly asked *(48/94)* all Governments to implement all relevant UN resolutions regarding the exercise of the right to self-determination, calling on Israel to refrain from violating the Palestinians' fundamental rights, and on South Africa to end violence by adhering to the National Peace Accord.

Social development

Beyond its efforts to promote equal opportunites for persons with disabilities *(see box, page 48)*, the Assembly invited *(48/98)* Member States, nongovernmental organizations and research centres to support the UN programme on ageing.

Recalling its resolution *(47/5)* to observe 1999 as the International Year of Older Persons, the Assembly decided *(48/433)* to redesignate 1999 as the International Year of the Elderly. It also endorsed *(48/98)* recommendations to streamline implementation of the Plan of Action on Ageing, and called upon the Secretary-General to "maintain the integrity and the identity" of the UN programme on ageing.

Regarding the World Summit for Social Development, to take place in Copenhagen in March 1995, the Assembly asked *(48/100)* all countries to appoint representatives to the Preparatory Committee, and invited them to "contribute generously to the voluntary Trust Fund" for the Summit.

In forming this resolution, the Assembly had before it a report *(A/48/476)* detailing the work of the regional economic commissions in preparing for the Summit.

Europe: Noting a number of "worrisome tendencies" in both market and transition economies, the Economic Commission for Europe reported a "continuing decline in economic activities, growing unemployment, falling real incomes and growing labour-related relative poverty" in the economies in transition.

Asia and the Pacific: Despite progess made in the region, a "wide gap remains between social development and economic progress", reported the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. Aiming to "narrow this gap as well as to integrate social concerns into development policies", the Commission adopted in 1992 the Social Development Strategy for the ESCAP Region Towards 2000 and Beyond.

Latin America and the Caribbean: Social development proposals by the region's Commission "revolve around three broad policy areas"—achieving increases in productive employment, investment in human capital and transfers, the report stated. For an integrated approach to development, the Economic Commission for Latin

Alien smuggling condemned

Every year, hundreds of people die during clandestine attempts to cross international borders by land or sea. Other times they reach their destinations only to fall into debt, bondage or servitude to pay for their passage. The responsibility for these tragedies falls, in part, on alien smugglers who, the General Assembly has stated, "convince individuals to migrate illegally by various means for enormous profits".

Addressing this issue for the first time, the Assembly, in adopting resolution 48/102 on 20 December without a vote, urged States to "frustrate the objectives of alien smugglers" and "protect would-be migrants from exploitation and loss of life".

States could accomplish these goals by amending criminal laws to encompass alien smuggling, and by preventing smugglers from using airports, ships, and other ground transportation in their territories. All Governments should also accede to international conventions "preventing the economic exploitation and loss of life that can result from alien smuggling", the Assembly said. However, efforts to prevent alien smuggling should not "inhibit legal migration or freedom of travel or undercut the protection provided by international law to refugees".

America and the Caribbean emphasized the need for "equitable foundations for trade" and agreements on "transboundary movements of workers".

Africa: The Economic Commission for Africa has focused on the need to "place social and human development concerns at the core of the development process", the report stated. During 1993, it organized a number of conferences, workshops and meetings dealing with priority areas for the Summit, such as poverty alleviation, generating productive employment and social integration.

Western Asia: The Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia stated that its region was in a "state of rapid political, economical and social transition". It undertook a number of studies in 1993 to determine the "impact of the crisis on the social situation of the region, assess population movements associated with the Gulf Crisis", and investigate the reintegration of returnees. The findings of these studies will be used to develop a regional social development agenda, the report stated.

Cultural property

Deeply concerned over "clandestine evacuations" that "impoverish the cultural heritage of all peoples", the Assembly, in adopting resolution 48/15 on 11 November in plenary, condemned illicit trafficking in museum pieces, manuscripts or any other "cultural or artistic treasures".

To avoid the loss of such items, the Assembly invited Member States to work with UNESCO in drawing up inventories of cultural property in their territory. It also asked Member States to consider including a clause in excavation permits "requiring archeologists and palaeontologists to provide the national authorities with photographic documentation of each object brought to light during the excavations".

The Assembly also recommended that Member States "engaged in seeking the recovery of cultural and artistic treasures from the seabed" participate with States that have a cultural link to those treasures.

Guidelines adopted to ensure equal rights of disabled

Intensifying its efforts to promote full participation in society by all people, the General Assembly on 20 December adopted a series of rules to ensure that people with disabilities "exercise the same rights and obligations as others".

The new "Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons With Disabilites" *(48/96)* —a four-part document detailing 22 regulations—targets equal opportunity in areas such as education, employment, recreation and sports.

The Rules were elaborated by a working group set up under Economic and Social Council resolution 1990/26 in May 1990.

"In all societies of the world there are still obstacles preventing persons with disabilities from exercising their rights and freedoms", the Rules state. Promoting equal opportunites for persons with disabilities is an "essential contribution in the general and worldwide effort to mobilize human resources".

First, States must "raise awareness in society about persons with disabilities". Teacher-training courses, public education programmes, and positive portrayals of people with disabilities in the mass media would help accomplish this goal.

The Rules also require States to meet the basic medical, rehabilitation and support services needs of people with disabilities. Medical personnel must receive adequate training "so that they do not give inappropriate advice to parents, thus restricting options for their children".

States should "remove obstacles to participation in the physical environment", the Rules state. Access to education, and subsequently to employment, is also important for achieving equality.

To implement these goals, the Assembly urged States to include "disability aspects" in policy-making and national planning, and to create the "legal bases" for the achievement of full participation and equality for persons with disabilities.

Beyond suggesting a series of regulations, the UN Secretary-General will appoint a Special Rapporteur for three years, to monitor implementation of the Standard Rules and create a panel of experts to review, advise and provide feedback on how States are progressing in implementing them.

In an effort to include people with disabilities in all aspects of society, the Assembly asked *(48/95)* the UN Secretary-General to maintain and strengthen programmes for disabled people and promote their participation in the UN system.

The Assembly also asked *(48/99)* the Secretary-General to give higher priority and visibility to disability issues in UN programmes, policies and projects. For instance, the UN Development Programme should incorporate a "disability component" in all of its reconstruction programmes.

Finally, the Assembly appealed *(48/97)* to all Governments to observe the International Day of Disabled Persons on 3 December, so that they would "take the lead in awakening the consciousness of populations" to the benefits of integrating disabled persons into every area of social, economic and political life.

Fighting the odds

UNHCR faces unprecedented needs on four continents

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees has recently faced "unprecedented needs on four continents", President of the General Assembly Samuel R. Insanally told a special UN donor meeting on 10 November in New York.

Citing voluntary repatriation efforts over the past 12 months in Afghanistan, Cambodia and Mozambique, he said that more than 2.4 million refugees had returned to their countries. "Still, the overwhelming trend remains one of flight caused by nationalistic, ethnic or communal tensions."

In light of the "complexity and urgency" of the global refugee crisis, the Assembly, in adopting resolution 48/113, asked Member States, UN bodies and international organizations to submit recommendations to the UN Secretary-General on the appropriateness of convening a UN conference for the comprehensive consideration and review of the problems of refugees returnees, displaced persons and migrants. That text was among six resolutions relating to refugees adopted by the Assembly on 19 and 22 November.

The world body acted on the recommendation of its Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural), which had reviewed a 51-page UNHCR global report. That document *(A/48/12)* covered events from 1 January 1992 to 31 March 1993—the "most difficult and demanding" period since its creation, UNHCR said.

Among the greatest lessons of late was the "importance of political initiatives in resolving the causes of refugee problems", the report stated. Humanitarian assistance "cannot be a substitute for political solutions", it said.

Stark reality

At a press conference in Geneva on 8 October, High Commissioner Sadako Ogata warned that the responsibility for the "agony in Bosnia and Herzegovina" lay with the political and military leaders. No amount of humanitarian assistance could overcome that "stark reality", she stated.

While the primary role of UNHCR has traditionally been to assist refugees in their countries of asylum, the report said that recently the agency has focused more attention on ensuring that people are not "forced to flee from their homes in the first place".

UN Photo 184653/J. Bu

UNHCR High Commissioner Sadako Ogata at a 9 November press conference

While its mandate does not extend to the internally displaced, UNHCR has increasingly undertaken, at the request of the Secretary-General, humanitarian action for that category, "with a view to prevention".

Unfortunately, preventing critical situations is not always possible. Recently, UNHCR mounted emergency programmes for more than 3 million people in the former Yugoslavia, 420,000 in Kenya, 260,000 from Myanmar in Bangladesh, as well as for the continued influx of asylum seekers from Bhutan into Nepal, the report stated. In December 1992, emergency teams were sent to Armenia, Azerbaijan and Tajikistan, making that area a new focus of concern. In early 1993, it began to cope with a new influx of some 200,000 refugees from Togo into Benin and Ghana.

Assembly action

The Assembly appealed *(48/114)* for assistance to Azerbaijani refugees, for all refugees, returnees and displaced persons in Africa *(48/118)*, and for support *(48/117)* for the programmes developed within the framework of the International Conference on Central American Refugees.

Recognizing the increased demands faced by UNHCR, the Assembly stressed *(48/116)* the importance of "international solidarity and burden-sharing in reinforcing the international protection of refugees". ■

A dangerous trek to Sudan

After quietly slipping out of Kakuma camp in Kenya, nearly 700 refugee boys—some no more than 10 years old—began a dangerous 100-kilometre trek towards southern Sudan, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees reported on 15 December 1993.

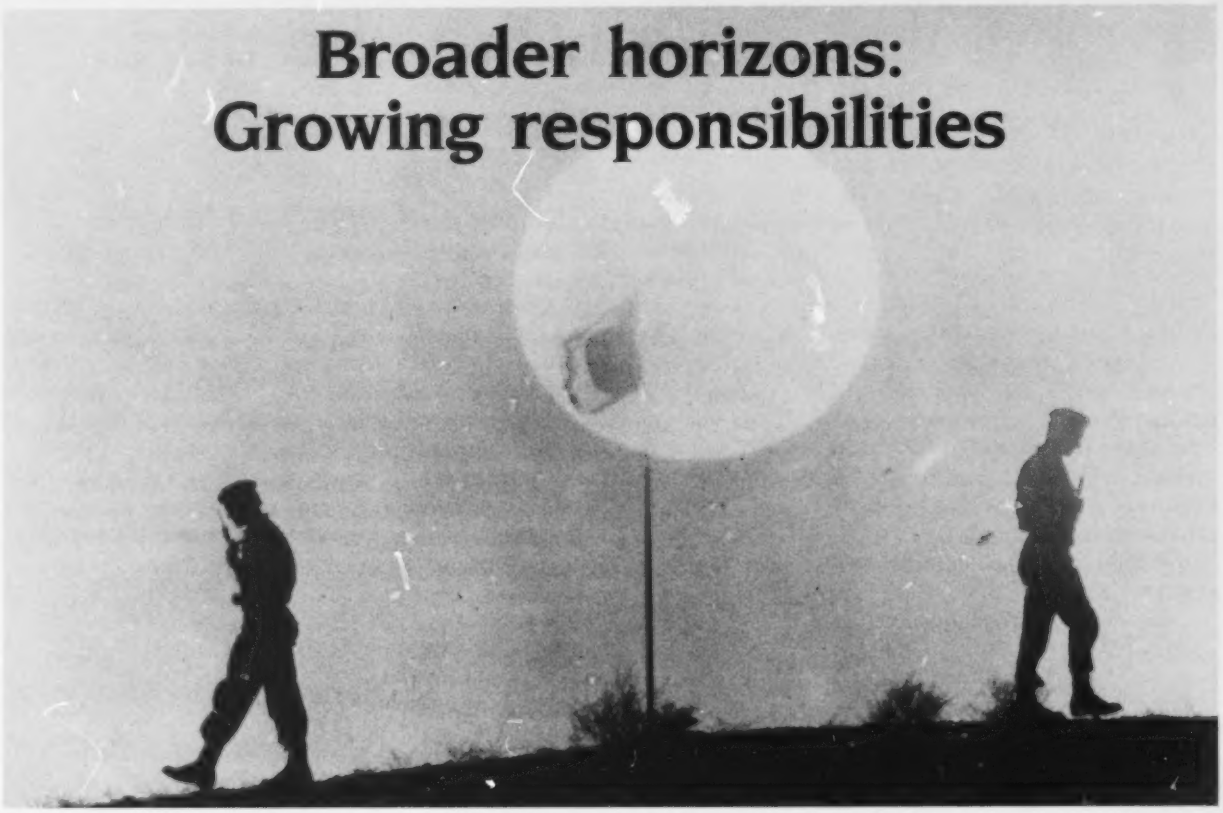
Such a journey could lead them to their death, the agency warned, due to lack of food and shelter, or by being forced to fight in the bloody Sudanese civil war.

UNHCR field officers found the boys some 30 kilometres from the Sudanese border, but were unable to convince them to return to the camp, located 700 kilometres north-west of Nairobi.

The youth were among 10,500 unaccompanied Sudanese minors in the Kakuma camp, who had fled to Kenya in May 1992. UNHCR was reluctant to return the boys to Sudan unless they could be reunited with their families. But the situation in southern Sudan made that impossible.

UNHCR appealed to warring factions to refrain from coercing minors to leave the camp and, in particular, to cease using them as combatants.

Broader horizons: Growing responsibilities



The Fourth Committee's newly-merged agenda includes both peace-keeping and decolonization issues.

Recognizing that peace-making and peace-keeping are an essential UN function, with the aim of "prevention, containment and resolution of disputes", the General Assembly on 10 December urged a comprehensive streamlined approach to planning and managing future operations to ensure the "unity of command and control indispensable for successful peace-keeping".

In adopting resolution 48/42 without a vote, the Assembly set out its concerns regarding the resources, finances, organization and effectiveness of UN peace-keeping efforts, as well as on issues related to the 1992 "An Agenda for Peace", and the security and safety of UN and related personnel.

The world body acted on the recommendation of the new Fourth Committee (Special Political and Decolonization)—a merger of the former Special Political Committee and the Fourth Committee (Decolonization).

Before establishing a UN peace-keeping operation, the Assembly warned, the Security Council and the UN Secretary-General should "analyse a given situation very carefully". A "realistic mandate", including clear objectives and a time-frame for resolution of the problem, should be formulated "conducive to the furtherance of the political process".

The Council should periodically review the effectiveness of UN operations to make sure that they remained within existing mandates, and that no change in mandate, duration or character of any operation occurred without Council approval.

The importance of the use of "preventive deployment" and/or establishing demilitarized zones was stressed, as a means of preventing existing or potential disputes from escalating into wider conflicts.

Acknowledging the "increasing challenge of forging large and cohesive peace-keeping missions from many and diverse contingents", the world body called for effective training of civilian, police and military personnel before deployment. Official UN training guidelines, combined with performance goals, should be devised for individuals and units, so that peace-keepers could be trained in accordance with "agreed-upon common standards, skills, practices and procedures".

Member States, especially those in whose territory UN operations were conducted, were urged to provide comprehensive support to all UN peace-keeping personnel and take all necessary measures to ensure and guarantee their safety and security.

States should "act promptly to deter and prosecute all those responsible for attacks and other acts of violence" against UN peace-keepers, the

Assembly said. Noting difficulties and dangers that could arise when UN peace-keeping operations were conducted "in situations where no authority exercises jurisdiction", the Assembly said the Security Council and other UN bodies should consider "measures appropriate to the particular circumstances".

Governments hosting UN operations should disseminate to their populations necessary information on the role of those operations.

After reviewing an agenda item on peace-keeping operations in all their aspects, the Assembly stressed that the UN must receive adequate resources "commensurate with its growing responsibilities in the area of peace-keeping".

The Organization, it stipulated, must be able to "deal effectively and efficiently with planning, launching, managing and providing administrative and logistics support", and coordinate and institute "appropriate rules of engagement".

Fourth Committee Chairman Stanley Kalpagé of Sri Lanka told the Assembly on 6 October in an opening statement that the process of decolonization would "hopefully be completed soon". Although there were still 18 Non-Self-Governing Territories, by the end of the century, UN work on decolonization should be "decisively concluded".

The Fourth Committee's major reponsibility now would be in the field of peace-keeping, he said. The issue of financing those operations required special attention. In an 11 October report *(A/48/460)*, it was suggested that Governments consider financing peace-keeping from their national defence budgets. The Independent Advisory Group on UN Financing called peace-keeping an "investment in security", adding that the UN should consider having a "unified peace-keeping budget", financed by a single annual assessment.

On 10 December, the General Assembly acted on 24 texts recommended by its Fourth Committee.

In an omnibus resolution *(48/51 A-B)* on 10 Non-Self-Governing Territories—American Samoa, Anguilla, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, the Cayman Islands, Guam, Montserrat, Tokelau, the Turks and Caicos Islands, and the United States Virgin Islands—the Assembly said the peoples of those Territories should determine freely their future political status, in accordance with the UN Charter and the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

In addition, the Committee adopted decisions on Gibraltar, Pitcairn and St. Helena.

Progress was also urged with regard to Western Sahara *(48/49)* and New Caledonia *(49/50)*.

> "Worldwide support for the Decade against colonialism was sought"

The Assembly asked for measures to ensure the permanent sovereignty of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories over their natural resources. It also called upon *(48/46)* administering Powers concerned to ensure that "no unjust wage system or working conditions" prevailed in the Territory under their administration, and to apply a "uniform system of wages to all the inhabitants without any discrimination".

Military installations in Non-Self-Governing Territories impeding implementation of the decolonization Declaration should be withdrawn, the Assembly declared.

In resolution 48/47, the specialized agencies and other UN organizations were asked to increase their assistance, as well as examine and review conditions in each Territory so as to accelerate progress in economic and social sectors there.

Acting in plenary, the Assembly asked *(48/52)* for continuing worldwide support for the goals of the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, which began in 1990.

Palestinian rights, other matters

Fifteen texts concerning Palestinian rights and Israeli practices in the occupied territories were adopted by the Assembly on 10 December on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee.

Among other things, the Assembly expressed support *(48/40 A-J)* for the activities of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). It also urged assistance for refugees, expanded education and training programmes, and return of displaced inhabitants to their homes in territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

The Secretary-General was asked to take steps to protect Arab property rights in Israel. Israel was called upon to desist from acts of aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian populations in Lebanon. Protection of Palestinian students and educational institutions, as well as the establishment of the University of Jerusalem "Al-Quds", were urged.

The Assembly also commended *(48/41 A-D)* the efforts of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs in the Occupied Territories.

Related to the peaceful uses of outer space, the Assembly emphasized the need for "orderly growth of space activities favourable to the socio-economic advancement of humanity", in particular that of the developing countries. More attention was asked for the problem of collisions of space objects, including nuclear-power sources, with space debris.

As regards information, the Assembly urged reduction of "existing disparities in information flows" by increasing aid for communication infrastructures in developing countries. ■

New body to prepare convention on safety and security of UN staff

Expressing grave concern over "the increasing number of attacks on UN personnel that have caused death or serious injury", the General Assembly established an Ad Hoc Committee, open to all Member States, to elaborate an international convention dealing with the safety and security of UN and associated personnel.

In adopting resolution 48/37 on the recommendation of its Sixth (Legal) Committee, the Assembly stated that such a convention should have a particular reference to responsibility for attacks on such personnel. The Committee was to meet from 28 March to 8 April 1994, and again, if necessary, from 1 to 12 August.

On 27 August, the Secretary-General reported *(A/48/349-S/26358)* that UN personnel had "increasingly been required to perform their functions in extremely hazardous conditions where decisions regarding their safety assume an immediacy not normally encountered in the past". Developments over the last year had highlighted certain "gaps" in the existing system. A new international instrument would make it possible to consolidate, in a single document, the set of principles and obligations contained in existing treaties, as well as to codify customary international law, he stated.

Immunities of States

In all, the Assembly adopted nine resolutions and five decisions on the recommendation of the Sixth Committee.

For the first time in Committee history, consensus was reached on all draft resolutions, Sixth Committee Chairman Maria del Luján Flores of Uruguay said on 13 December.

In addition to considering UN staff safety, the Sixth Committee also decided *(resolution 48/30)* to convene in New York in 1995 a UN Congress on Public International Law, as part of the activities of the UN Decade for International Law (1990-1999).

It was also agreed *(48/413)* that the recommendation of the International Law Commission to convene a conference of plenipotentiaries to conclude a convention on jurisdictional immunities of States and their property would be further considered by the Assembly in 1994.

> "Decisions regarding the safety of UN personnel assume an immediacy not encountered in the past"

The International Law Commission was asked *(48/31)* to continue drafting a statute for an international criminal court.

The Assembly also endorsed the Commission's decision to include on its agenda the topics: "The law and practice relating to reservations to treaties" and "State succession and its impact on the nationality of natural and legal persons".

The Special Committee on the Charter of the UN and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization was requested *(48/36)* to consider in 1994 proposals on implementing UN Charter provisions related to assistance to third States affected by the application of sanctions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Work continued on another proposal, on enhancing cooperation between the UN and regional organizations.

Model Law

The Assembly recommended *(48/33)* that States give favourable consideration to the Model Law on Procurement of Goods and Construction, together with the Guide to Enactment of the Model Law, when they enacted or revised their procurement laws. The Model Law had been adopted by the UN Commission on International Trade Law when it met in Vienna from 5 to 23 July.

The Secretary-General was requested *(48/34)* to continue to make increased efforts to promote wider adherence to the UN Convention on the Carriage of Goods by Sea, 1978 (Hamburg Rules).

The Assembly welcomed *(48/35)* the lifting of travel controls by the host country of UN Headquarters—the United States—with regard to certain missions and staff members of certain nationalities, and expressed the hope that remaining travel restrictions would be removed as soon as possible.

Support was given *(48/29)* to continued activities of the UN Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law, including provision of international law fellowships.

The Assembly also decided to: consider the issue of international terrorism again in 1994 *(48/411)*; resume consideration of the legal aspects of international economic relations in 1996 *(48/412)*; and continue to consider the item entitled: "Request for an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice" *(48/414)*. ■

From 'Associated Powers' to 'United Nations'

By Harold Fruchtbaum

Eight years after the event, Britain's Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill described a memorable meeting with United States President Franklin Roosevelt in a bedroom at the White House on New Year's Day 1942. "The President was wheeled in to me on the morning of 1 January. I got out of my bath, and agreed to the draft", he wrote in his six-volume history of the Second World War.

UN Photo 24469

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill *(left)* with United States President Franklin Roosevelt *(centre)* in 1941.

Mr. Churchill had arrived in Washington the night of 22 December 1941. It was just two weeks after Pearl Harbor, when most of the United States Pacific fleet was destroyed. For the Allies, the news from the fronts was grim. The President, the Prime Minister and their staffs were meeting to develop a joint war strategy. Mr. Churchill would be a guest of the President and Mrs. Roosevelt in the White House for three weeks.

Both men worked in bed—the Prime Minister out of habit and the President, paralyzed below the waist by poliomyelitis 20 years earlier, out of need. During Mr. Churchill's stay at the White House, they conferred daily, often in each other's bedroom and over lunch. So the Prime Minister, roused from his bath, was not surprised to find the President waiting for him in one of the wheelchairs he used to get around the White House.

Among the items on the President's agenda that morning was approval of a draft of what was originally to be the "Declaration by Associated Powers". Quickly written in the United States Department of State and the White House, the objective of the brief Declaration was to achieve agreement in purpose and action by the Allied nations. Soon after the Prime Minister's arrival at the White House, the President gave him the draft. Agreeing to the same procedure they had used in August 1941 to finalize the Prime Minister's text of what became the Atlantic Charter, the two men would blend their revisions.

Although the Atlantic Charter did not call for the founding of an international organization at the end of the war, but only suggested "the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security" *(see* UN Chronicle, *December 1993, page 71)*, it did state rights and goals that were to be important in the UN. These included: the right of peoples to choose their own form of government; equal access by all countries to trade and raw materials; international cooperation to improve labour standards, economic conditions and social welfare; freedom from fear and want; peace and world security; freedom of the seas; and disarmament.

With the five-paragraph Declaration, Governments subscribe to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter and underscore their conviction that "complete victory . . . is essential to defend life, liberty, independence, and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands". Moreover, they commit themselves to using their full military or economic resources against the enemy, to cooperate with the other signatories and not to make a separate armistice or peace.

The final version of the document that Prime Minister Churchill emerged from his bath to receive and approve bore a new name. President Roosevelt had changed "Declaration by Associated Powers" to "Declaration by United Nations". "I thought this a great improvement", the Prime Minister wrote. He then showed the President these lines from Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*:

Here, where the sword united nations drew,
Our countrymen were warring on that day!
And this is much, and all which will not pass away.

In the President's White House study later that New Year's Day, the two men met with the Foreign Minister of China and the Soviet Union's Ambassador to sign, in Winston Churchill's words, "this majestic document". Eventually, 47 nations became signatories. The Declaration by United Nations gave to the "Grand Alliance" of the Prime Minister the name that would serve it through more than three-and-a-half years of world war and the decades beyond. ■

STAMP CORNER

'Hanging by a thread'

The second series in a multi-year UN stamp issue on endangered species will be released by the UN Postal Administration (UNPA) on 19 March. Designed by Leon Parson of the United States and Kerrie Maddeford and Paul Margoosy of Australia, the recent issue features 12 threatened species, including the blue whale, chimpanzee and American crocodile.

Each stamp is available in denominations of 29 United States cents, 0.80 Swiss Francs and 7 Austrian schillings. Also available are three maximum cards and the 1994 Endangered Species annual collection folder.

Accompanying the UN stamp series is the World Federation of UN Associations' first-day cover by award-winning UN photographer John Isaac. It depicts a three-month-old tiger hanging from a tree. The image, says Mr. Isaac, is symbolic of the plight of the endangered species of the world, many of which are "hanging by a thread". The final print of the first-day cover was done by image transfer from a black and white polaroid photograph to an art form.

On 4 February, the UNPA released "A Universal World of Stamps—E.T. and the United Nations", a special album introducing the work of the UN and 16 UN topics, from the environment to the value of education, to young readers, and encouraging them to take up the hobby of stamp collecting.

The album also celebrates the UN Year of the Family, as the importance of the family was an underlying theme of "E.T., the Extra-Terrestrial", one of the most popular movies ever made. It was made possible through the support of cinema director Steven Spielberg and Universal City Studios.

The stamp album, priced at US$9.95, can be ordered from: United Nations Postal Administration, P.O. Box 5900, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163-9992. ■

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

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D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary and other free copies	3,780
E. Total distribution *(Sum of C and D)*	11,360
F. Copies not distributed	
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	1,240
2. Returns from news agents	0
G. Total *(Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A)*	12,600

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete: Susanna H. Johnston, Chief, UN Sales Section, UN Publications.

CORRECTIONS

On page 12 of Issue 4, 1993, the caption should have placed PLO Chairman Arafat at right.

On page 20, UN Photo 184112 incorrectly identified the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat Emeka Anyaoku as Haitian Prime Minister Robert Malval. A photo of Prime Minister Malval appears on p. 73 of this magazine.

BOOKWATCH

Yearbook of the United Nations 1992 Volume 46

Department of Public Information
United Nations, New York, 1993
Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Dordrecht, The Netherlands
1277 pp. $150. Sales No. E.91.I.1 ISBN 0-7923-2583-4

In his 1992 report on the work of the Organization, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said: "Never before in its history has the United Nations been so action-oriented, so actively engaged and so widely expected to respond to needs both immediate and pervasive." The 1992 *Yearbook* affirms this judgement in well-crafted chronicles detailing the UN's complex affairs. Organized and indexed for thorough reference, the *Yearbook* gives the researcher ready access to events and issues such as the "Earth Summit", "An Agenda for Peace", the chemical weapons convention, Salvadorian peace negotiations, the Iraq-Kuwait situation, and the armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. With the world in flux, the *Yearbook* remains irreplaceable.

The State of the World's Refugees 1993: The Challenge of Protection

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Geneva, 1993
Penguin Books, New York and London, 1993
191 pp. $14/£8.99. ISBN 0-14-023487-X

Today, there are over 18.2 million people who have fled their countries to escape persecution and violence. These refugees, together with more than 24 million people displaced within the borders of their homelands, confront the world with what UNHCR calls "the challenge of protection". The relentless rise in the number of refugees—2.5 million in 1970 and 11 million in 1983—and the economic and political demands in asylum countries stress to the breaking point the established international system of protection. "New issues", UNHCR says in *The State of the World's Refugees 1993*, "have emerged from the changed circumstances and perceptions of the 1990s. They call for fresh strategies to meet the need for international protection." These issues and more are considered in this report, the first of its kind from UNHCR.

A Dream for Peace: Human Rights Drawings by Cambodian Children

Text by Jamie Metzl
Design by Jan Arnesen, Gladys Nginga, Theng Chhorvirith
UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia
Phnom Penh, 1993, 50 pp. $17

Srong Sophy, an 11-year-old high-school girl, won first prize for the drawing she entered in a national competition for Cambodian children on the theme: "What human rights means to me". Her drawing in blue, white, green and brown depicts a great open hand in a bright sky holding a peaceful sun-drenched Cambodian village. Sponsored in 1992 by the Human Rights Component of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia, the competition brought entries from over 10,000 children. The prize-winning drawings and a selection of the other entries are reproduced in this beautiful book, with excerpts in English and Khmer from Buddhist literature and international human rights texts. *A Dream for Peace* is a fitting start for the reborn publishing industry of Phnom Penh.

Getting Away with Murder: Political Killings and 'Disappearances' in the 1990s

Amnesty International, London, 1993
126 pp. ISBN 0-86210-225-1

Amnesty International does not mince words in its report on political killings and disappearances. "Mass murderers are still on the loose. They are called Governments and the scale of their crimes defies belief." Published as part of a campaign to mobilize people against these killings, the report describes the scenarios of terror, their victims and the reasons the criminal acts continue. The report stresses the importance of a Government openly confronting its past if gross human rights violations occurred. Chapters on preventing and stopping the terror of political killings and disappearances and annexes with the relevant UN principles conclude this valuable guide to action.

Women's Education and Fertility Behaviour: A Case-Study of Rural Maharashtra, India

41 pp. $10. Sales No. E.93.XIII.12 ISBN 92-1-151257-3

Fertility Transition and Women's Life Course in Mexico

62 pp. $10. Sales No. E.94.XIII.5 ISBN 92-1-151263-8

Women's Status and Fertility in Pakistan: Recent Evidence

29 pp. $10. Sales No. E.94.XIII.o ISBN 92-1-151264-6
UN Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis
United Nations, New York, 1993

Is the education of women an important factor in the decline of fertility? Most experts say yes, but the evidence, the UN Population Division writes, is "sometimes uncertain", and these three case-studies "were undertaken to identify the interactions between women's education and fertility". Using data from India, Mexico and Pakistan, the researchers found that among the effects of education on the lives of women, delayed marriage associated with additional schooling is a key factor in fertility decline. The relationship between education and fertility is complex, for it involves women's status, attitudes and expectations, as well as the prevailing economic and social conditions.

Reviewed by Professor Harold Fruchtbaum
Columbia University, New York

COMING UP

A preview of some important United Nations conferences and events

April-June 1994

New York

18 April-9 May	Disarmament Commission
9-24 May	Committee on Information, 16th session
10-20 May	Trusteeship Council, 61st session
31 May-17 June	UNCITRAL, 27th session
May-June	Committee for Programme and Coordination, 34th session, first part
20-24 June	Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters
27 June-29 July	Economic and Social Council, substantive session

Geneva

18-25 April	Economic Commission for Europe, 49th session
18-29 April	Committee against Torture, 12th session
2-11 May	Commission on Transnational Corporations, 20th session
2 May-22 July	International Law Commission, 46th session
16 May-1 July	Conference on Disarmament, second part

Vienna

25 April-6 May	Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, 3rd session
9-20 May	International Narcotics Control Board, 56th session
6-17 June	Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, 37th session

Other locations

25 April-6 May	Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, Bridgetown
23-27 May	World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction, Yokohama

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Membership of Principal United Nations Organs in 1994

General Assembly

The General Assembly is composed of all 184 United Nations Member States:

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Andorra, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, *Argentina, Armenia, *Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, *Belarus, *Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, *Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Botswana, *Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, *Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, *Chile, *China, *Colombia, Comoros, Congo, *Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, *Cuba, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, *Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, *Dominican Republic, *Ecuador, *Egypt, *El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Estonia, *Ethiopia, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Finland, *France, Gabon, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, *Greece, Grenada, *Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, *Haiti, *Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, *India, Indonesia, *Iran, *Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Latvia, *Lebanon, Lesotho, *Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, *Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, *Mexico, Monaco, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, *Netherlands, *New Zealand, *Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, *Norway, Oman, Pakistan, *Panama, Papua New Guinea, *Paraguay, *Peru, *Philippines, *Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, San Marino, Sao Tome and Principe, *Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Somalia, *South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, *Syrian Arab Republic, Tajikistan, Thailand, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, *Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uganda, *Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, *United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, *United States, *Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Vanuatu, *Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, *Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

*Founding Member

Security Council

The Security Council has 15 members. The Charter has designated five States as permanent members, and the General Assembly elects 10 other members for two-year terms. The term of office of each non-permanent member of the Council ends on 31 December of the year indicated in parentheses below.

The five permanent members of the Security Council are: China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, the United States.

The 10 non-permanent members of the Security Council in 1994 are: Argentina (1995), Brazil (1994), Czech Republic (1995), Djibouti (1994), New Zealand (1994), Nigeria (1995), Oman (1995), Pakistan (1994), Rwanda (1995) and Spain (1994).

Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council has 54 members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly. The term of office for each member expires on 31 December of the year indicated in parentheses below. In 1994, the Council is composed of the following 54 States:

Angola (1994), Australia (1994), Bahamas (1995), Bangladesh (1994), Belarus (1994), Belgium (1994), Benin (1994), Bhutan (1995), Brazil (1994), Bulgaria (1996), Canada (1995), Chile (1996), China (1995), Colombia (1994), Costa Rica (1996), Cuba (1995), Denmark (1995), Egypt (1996), Ethiopia (1994), France (1996), Gabon (1995), Germany (1996), Ghana (1996), Greece (1996), India (1994), Indonesia (1996), Ireland (1996), Italy (1994), Japan (1996), Kuwait (1994), Libya (1995), Madagascar (1994), Mexico (1995), Nigeria (1995), Norway (1995), Pakistan (1996), Paraguay (1996), Philippines (1994), Poland (1994), Portugal (1996), Republic of Korea (1995), Romania (1995), Russian Federation (1995), Senegal (1996), Sri Lanka (1995), Suriname (1994), Swaziland (1994), Ukraine (1995), United Kingdom (1995), United Republic of Tanzania (1996), United States (1994), Venezuela (1996), Zaire (1995), Zimbabwe (1996).

Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council has five members—China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States—which are also the five permanent members of the Security Council.

International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice has 15 members, elected by both the General Assembly and the Security Council. Judges hold nine-year terms, which end on 5 February of the year indicated in parentheses below.

The Judges, listed in their official order of precedence, are:

Mohammed Bedjaoui of Algeria (1997), Stephen M. Schwebel of the United States (1997), Shigeru Oda of Japan (1994), Roberto Ago of Italy (1997), Sir Robert Yewdall Jennings of the United Kingdom (2000), Nikolai K. Tarassov of the Russian Federation (1997), Gilbert Guillaume of France (2000), Mohamed Shahabuddeen of Guyana (1997), Andrés Aguilar Mawdsley of Venezuela (2000), Christopher G. Weeramantry of Sri Lanka (2000), Raymond Ranjeva of Madagascar (2000), Géza Herczegh of Hungary (2003), Shi Jiuyong of China (1994), Carl-August Fleischhauer of Germany (2003), Abdul G. Koroma of Sierra Leone (2003).